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THE STANDARD.

THE EMANCIPATION AMENDMENT.

JUBILEE MEETING IN MUSIC HALL, BOSTON.

SPEECHES BY WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND GENERAL BUTLER.

From the Boston Daily Advertiser, Feb 6.

THE meeting in Music Hall, on Saturday evening, to celebrate and rejoice over the passage of the bill amending the Constitution so as to prohibit slavery in the United States, was a very large and enthusiastic one. The hall was elaborately decorated with national emblems and banners by Messrs. Lamprell, Short and Marble, city decorators, and directly in front of the great organ were the words "Declaration of Independence, July 4th, 1776; Freedom for all, January 31st, 1865."

The large assembly was called to order—after some excellent music by Mrs. Frobock upon the organ—by Col. Albert J. Wright, who, in a few words, expressed his regrets that a sudden indisposition prevented his Excellency Gov. Andrew from being present and presiding at the meeting. Col. Wright then introduced as Chairman for the evening Hon. Josiah Quincy. The exercises were continued by a prayer offered by Rev. R. C. Waterston, after which the audience joined in the singing of the hymn "The morning light is breaking," under the direction of Messrs. S. B. Ball, J. Q. Wetherbee and J. R. Elliot.

Hon. Josiah Quincy then briefly addressed the meeting. He said that he was called upon at the last moment to preside, but was most happy to stand before the audience upon such a rare occasion. It was a day possessed to him of the most sacred associations; for it was the anniversary of the birth of Josiah Quincy, who, he hoped, was now with many others in a higher sphere exchanging congratulations over this great event. The speaker mentioned the names of several of the pioneers in the anti-slavery cause, who were now rejoicing in the other world over the advance of freedom. First was Elijah P. Lovejoy; next, John Quincy Adams, the "old man eloquent," Joshua R. Giddings, William Slade, Horace Man, Theodore Parker—who prophesied that in 1865 we should have war, and in 1875 there would be no slave upon the earth—Ellis G. Loring, C. F. Hovey and a host of others. To-day how would they rejoice to know that our starry flag was everywhere the emblem of liberty (applause). Our Constitution has been called a "covenant with death and an agreement with hell," but no longer shall it merit such words of ignominy and shame.

The "Star Spangled Banner" was sung by Mr. James R. Elliot, the audience rising and joining in chorus.

The Chairman introduced William Lloyd Garrison who was most enthusiastically received with cheers and the waving of handkerchiefs and hats.

SPEECH OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

When I was requested, by our honored Chairman, to write upon a slip of paper some of the names of those who had made themselves conspicuous in the anti-slavery movement, but who had ascended to a higher sphere of existence, I had but a few moments in which to recall their memories. The list might be extended indefinitely; but I beg leave to add to it, on this occasion, the name of Prof. Follen, among the earliest and the truest, the friend and champion of impartial freedom in Europe and America; and him, whose "soul is marching on," John Brown (enthusiastic cheers). At this point, Maj.-Gen. Butler came upon the platform, and was received with a storm of applause from the audience, who rose to their feet, and clapped their hands, and waved hats and handkerchiefs for several minutes. Quietude being restored, Mr. Garrison continued as follows:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: In the long course of history, there are events of such transcendent sublimity and importance as to make all human speech utterly inadequate to portray the emotions they excite. The event we are here to celebrate is one of these—grand, inspiring, glorious, beyond all power of utterance, and far-reaching beyond all finite computation (applause).

At last, after eighty years of wandering and darkness—of cruelty and oppression, on a colossal scale, towards a helpless and an unoffending race—of recreancy to all the Heaven-attested principles enunciated by our revolutionary sires in justification of their course; through righteous judgment and fiery retribution; through national dismemberment and civil war; through suffering, bereavement and lamentation, extending to every city, town, village and hamlet, almost every household in the land; through a whole generation of anti-slavery warning, expostulation and rebuke, resulting in wide-spread contrition and repentance; the nation, rising in the majesty of its moral power and political sovereignty, has decreed that LIBERTY shall be "PROCLAIMED THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF," and that henceforth no such anomalous being as slaveholder or slave shall exist beneath the "Stars and Stripes," within the domains of the republic (cheers).

Sir, no such transition of feeling and sentiment, as has taken place within the last four years, stands recorded on the historic page; a change that seems as absolute as it is stupendous. Allow me to confess that, in view of it, and of the mighty consequences that must result from it to unborn generations, I feel to-night in a thoroughly Methodistical state of mind—disposed at the top of my voice, and to the utmost stretch of my lungs, to shout "Glory!" "Alleluia!" "Amen and amen!" (Rapturous applause—"Glory!" "Alleluia!" "Amen and amen!" being repeated with great unction by various persons in the audience.) Gladly and gratefully would I exclaim with one of old, "The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad" (applause). With the rejoicing Psalmist, I would say to the old and the young, "O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good; for his mercy endureth forever. To him alone that doeth great wonders; for his mercy endureth forever. To him that overthrew Pharoah and his host in the Red sea; for his mercy endureth forever. And brought out Israel from among them, with a strong hand, and with a stretched out arm; for his mercy endureth forever" (loud applause). "Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord!"

Mr. Chairman, friends and strangers stop me in the streets, daily, to congratulate me on having been permitted to live to witness the almost miraculous change which has taken place in the feelings and sentiments of the people on the subject of slavery, and in favor of the long-rejected but ever just and humane doctrine of immediate and universal emancipation. Ah, sir, no man living better understands or more joyfully recognizes the vastness of that change than I do. But most truly can I say that it causes within me no feeling of personal pride or exultation—God forbid! But I am unspeakably happy to believe, not only that this vast assembly, but that the great mass of my countrymen are now heartily disposed to admit that, in disinterestedly seeking, by all righteous instrumentalities, for more than thirty years, the utter abolition of slavery, I have not acted the part of a madman, fanatic, incendiary, or traitor (immense applause), but have at all times been of sound mind (laughter and cheers), a true friend of liberty and humanity, animated by the highest patriotism, and devoted to the welfare, peace, unity, and ever-increasing prosperity and glory of my native land! (Cheers.) And the same verdict you will render in vindication of the clear-sighted, untiring, intrepid, unselfish, uncompromising anti-slavery phalanx, who, through years of conflict and persecution—misrepresented, misunderstood, ridiculed and anathematized from one end of the country to the other—have labored "in season and out of season" to bring about this glorious result (renewed applause.) You will, I venture to think and say, agree with me, that only RADICAL ABOLITIONISM is, at this trial-hour, LOYALTY, JUSTICE, IMPARTIAL FREEDOM, NATIONAL SALVATION—the Golden Rule blended with the Declaration of Independence! (Great applause.)

Mr. Chairman, in the early days of the anti-slavery struggle, when those who ventured to espouse it were "few and far between," we endeavored to recruit our ranks by singing at our gatherings—

"Come join the Abolitionists,
The fair, the old, the young,
And, with a warm and cheerful zeal,
Come, help the cause along!
O, that will be joyful, joyful, joyful,
When all shall proudly say,
'This, this is FREEDOM'S day? Oppression, flee away!'
'Tis then we'll sing, and offerings bring,
When FREEDOM wins the day!"

Thanks unto God, that day is here and now! Freedom is triumphant! THE PEOPLE have decreed the death of slavery! All the controlling elements of the country—national, state, religious, political, literary, social, commercial, wealthy, industrial—are combined for its immediate extinction. There is no longer occasion, therefore, for the repetition of that persuasive song. As Jefferson said, in his inaugural message to Congress, "We are all Federalists, we are all Republicans"—so, in view of the dominant anti-slavery sentiment of the land, it may now be comprehensively declared, "We are all Abolitionists, we are all loyalists, to the back bone" (loud applause).

Fellow-citizens, who are here, moved as by one electric impulse, to commemorate a radical change in the Constitution of the United States—so radical that, whereas, for more than seventy years, it served as a mighty bulwark for the slave system, giving it national sanction and security, now it forbids human slavery in every part of the republic! Pardon me for reminding you of the old pro-slavery guaranties contained in that Constitution, all of which the present amendment obliterates at a blow. As the first competent witness, let "the old man eloquent," John Quincy Adams, be summoned. The following is his testimony:

"In the articles of confederation, there was no guaranty for the property of the slaveholder—no double representation of him in the Federal councils—no power of taxation—no stipulation for the recovery of fugitive slaves. But when the powers of *government* came to be delegated to THE UNION, the South—that is, South Carolina and Georgia—refused their subscription to the parchment, till it should be *saturated with the infection of slavery*, which no fumigation could purify, no quarantine could extinguish. *The freemen of the North gave way, and the deadly venom of slavery was infused into the Constitution of freedom.*"

Again:

"It cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to sucure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity for twenty years of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God delivered from Sinai; and thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandise under the names of persons." * * * * * * *

"The delegates from South Carolina and Georgia distinctly avowed that without this guaranty of protection to their property in slaves, they would not yield their assent to the Constitution; and the freemen of the North, reduced to the alternative of *departing from the vital principle of their liberty*, or forfeiting the Union itself, averted their faces, and with trembling hand subscribed the bond."

Again:

"*The bargain between Freedom and Slavery contained in the Constitution of the United States* is MORALLY AND POLITICALLY VICIOUS, inconsistent with the principles on which alone our revolution can be justified, *cruel and oppressive by riveting the chains of slavery, by pledging the faith of freedom to maintain and perpetuate the tyranny of the master*, and grossly unequal and impolitic by admitting that slaves are at once enemies to be kept in subjection, property to be secured and returned to its owners, and persons not to be represented for themselves, but for whom their masters are privileged with nearly a double share of representation. The consequence has been, that the slave representation has governed the Union. Benjamin's portion above his brethren has ravined as a wolf. In the morning he has devoured the prey, and in the evening he has divided the spoil."

The next witness, Mr. Chairman, is your own venerated father, who, in a speech delivered at the Whig State Convention in Boston, ten years ago, said:

"The slaveholders of the South have used the powers *vested in them by the Constitution* for their own interests, as every other selfish association of men would have done under the same circumstances, with the same powers, and under the same temptations."

And, referring to the threats continually made by the slave oligarchy of the South, that they would dissolve the Union if the Anti-Slavery agitation was not suppressed at the North, he added—

"Are the slaveholders fools or madmen? They go out of the Union for the purpose of maintaining the subjection of their slaves? Why, *the arm of the Union is the very sinew of that subjection!* IT IS THE SLAVEHOLDER'S MAIN STRENGTH. ITS CONTINUANCE IS HIS FORLORN HOPE."

The present paralyzed and dying condition of chattel slavery, as the result of secession, is demonstrative evidence that "the arm of the Union *was* the very sinew of the slaves' subjection, and the slaveholders' main strength."

Only one other witness shall be summoned on this occasion. Listen to the confession of the lamented WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING:

"There is some excuse for communities when under a generous impulse they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but *they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke.* On this subject OUR FATHERS, IN FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE RIGHT. We, their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and *must walk in it.* To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully and dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution."......................

"We cannot fly from the shame or guilt of the institution as long as we give it any support. Most unhappily, *there are provisions of the Constitution binding us to give it support.* Let us resolve to free ourselves from these...... No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong-doing. *To this conviction the free States are tending.*"

Again:

"The Constitution requires the free States to send back to bondage the fugitive slave. Does this show that we have no concern with the domestic institutions of the South? that the guilt of them, if such there be, is wholly theirs, and in no degree ours? This clause makes us direct partakers of the guilt; and, of consequence, we have a vital interest in the matter of slavery. It will be said that the South will insist on this stipulation, because it is necessary to the support of her institutions......................If the necessity be real, then it follows that *the free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailors and constables of the institution.* But it is said, the South is passionate, and threatens to secede, if we agitate this subject—slavery. In such an event, *there would be no need of anti-slavery societies or abolition agitations*, to convert the North. The blow that would sever the Union for this cause *would produce an instantaneous explosion to shake the whole land.* The moral sentiment against slavery, *now kept down by the interests and duties which grow out of the Union*, would burst its fetters, and be *re-enforced by the whole strength of the patriotic principle*, as well as by all the prejudices and local passions which would follow disunion."

Sir, "in the mouth of two or three witnesses"—and especially of such witnesses—"shall every word be established." But what need of summoning even these? Has not THE NATION itself, in every political struggle, in every form of governmental action, ever since the Constitution was ordained, recognized and upheld these revolting pro-slavery features of that instrument?

In your allusion, Mr. Chairman, to the departed worthies of the Anti-Slavery struggle, you correctly stated that some of them felt compelled, by conscientious scruples, to withdraw their support from such a Constitution, regarding it as a "covenant with death and an agreement with hell." Such has been my own position, for many years past, and, leaving others to follow their highest convictions on this subject, as the professed advocate and representative of the slave I have felt constrained, as a matter of duty and consistency, to testify against such a Union and Constitution. But now, sir, that the old "covenant with death" is superseded by a covenant with life—now that we are in concurrence with heaven, and no longer "at agreement with hell"—now that "Liberty and Union are one and inseparable"—I no longer occupy an isolated and antagonistic position, but rejoice in a common redemption (cheers).

And to whom is the country more immediately indebted for this vital and saving amendment of the Constitution than, perhaps, to any other man? I believe I may confidently answer—to the humble rail-splitter of Illinois—to the Presidential chain-breaker for millions of the oppressed—to ABRAHAM LINCOLN! (Immense and long-continued applause, ending with three cheers for the President.) I understand that it was by his wish and influence, that that plank was made a part of the Baltimore Platform; and, taking his position unflinchingly upon that Platform, THE PEOPLE have overwhelmingly sustained both him and it, ushering in THE YEAR OF JUBILEE (renewed cheering).

Be assured, Abraham Lincoln can be trusted to the end. You may rely upon his honesty and integrity, in whatever he has said or done for the overthrow of slavery. In spite of all the wiles of all the so-called Peace Commissioners, he will be true to his word (cheers); he will never consent, under any circumstances, to the reënslavement of any one of the millions whose yokes he has broken (loud applause).

Fellow-citizens, it is through terrible judgments for our great national transgression that, as a people, we have been led to see the path of duty and of safety, and to follow it. Reverently and resignedly would I exclaim:

"Even so, Father! Let thy will be done!
Turn and o'erturn; end what thou hast begun
In judgment or in mercy! As for me,
If but the least and frailest, let me be
Evermore numbered with the truly free,
Who find thy service perfect liberty!
I fain would thank Thee that my mortal life
Has reached the hour (albeit through care and pain),
When Good and Evil, as for final strife,
Close dim and vast on Armageddon's plain;
And Michael and his angels once again
Drive howling back the Spirits of the Night.
Oh! for the faith to read the signs aright,
And, from the angle of thy perfect sight,
See Truth's white banner floating on before;
And the Good Cause, despite of venal friends
And base expedients, move to noble ends:
See Peace with Freedom make to Time amends,
And, through its cloud of dust, the threshing-floor,
Flailed by thy thunder, heaped with chaffless grain!"

By whom has this wondrous revolution been wrought? Who will presume to call it his own work? Who will be guilty of the folly or impiety to ascribe it to any mere human instrumentalities? It is of heaven, not of men. It is the triumph of principles, not of persons.

"Speed on thy work, Lord God of Hosts!
And when the bondman's chain is riven,
And swells from all our guilty coasts
The anthem of the free to Heaven—
Oh, not to those whom Thou hast led,
As with thy cloud and fire before,
But unto Thee, in fear and dread,
Be praise and glory evermore!"

Mr. Chairman, there is a close analogy between the struggle for the abolition of the foreign slave trade in England, and that for the abolition of slavery in the United States. On reading Clarkson's History, it is only necessary to strike out one name, and insert another—one pro-slavery menace or denunciation, and insert another—one sophistical plea for the continuance of the slave traffic, and insert another for the perpetuity of slavery—and it applies as well in the one case as it does in the other. Let us hear what Clarkson testifies as to the revelations of character made by that struggle in which he took so distinguished a part:

"Thus ended one of the most glorious contests, after a continuance of twenty years, of any ever carried on in any age or country—a contest not of brutal violence, but of reason—a contest between those who felt deeply for the happiness and honor of their fellow-creatures, and those who, through vicious custom and the impulses of avarice, had trampled under foot the sacred rights of their nature, and had even attempted to efface all title of the divine image from their minds.

Of the immense advantage of this contest, I know not how to speak; indeed, the very agitation of the question which it involved has been highly important. Never was the heart of man so expanded; never were its generous sympathies so generally and so perseveringly excited. These sympathies, thus called into existence, have been useful for the preservation of a national virtue.

It has been useful, also, in the discrimination of moral character; in private life it has enabled us to distinguish the virtuous from the more vicious part of the community. It has shown the general philanthropist; it has unmasked the vicious, in spite of his pretention to virtue. It has afforded us the same knowledge in public life; it has separated the moral statesman from the wicked politician. It has shown us who, in the legislative and executive offices of our country, are fit to save, and who to destroy a nation."

The same thing has been demonstrated in the prosecution of the Anti-Slavery movement in this country. Honor to those who, holding high official station, have used their influence to the furtherance of the cause of universal emancipation—such men as Giddings, and Lovejoy, and Sumner, and Wilson, and their congressional associates! Honor to President Lincoln, to Gov. Andrew, and may I not say to Maj.-Gen. Butler (great cheering), for what they have done, since the rebellion broke out, both for the extinction of slavery and the relief and elevation of freedmen! Honor to all those who, in any way, have helped in the good work! They constitute a great army, whom none but God can number. Not a tear has been shed, not a prayer offered, not a testimony borne, not a contribution made, not an effort put forth in vain. All these have been needed to bring us to our present hopeful condition; and none could have been spared.

Do we realize the grandeur of the event we are assembled to celebrate? It is not merely negro emancipation, but universal emancipation (cheers). It is not merely disenthralling four million, but thirty-four million (renewed cheers). It is not merely liberating bodies, but souls—outwardly and inwardly alike. It is an act, not in hostility to the South, but for the general welfare—the good of the whole country. It is not to depress or injure any class, but to promote all human interests. In fine, it is the Declaration of Independence, no longer an abstract manifesto, containing certain "glittering generalities," simply to vindicate our revolutionary fathers for seceding from our mother country; but it is that Declaration CONSTITUTIONALIZED—made THE SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND—for the protection of the rights and liberties of all who dwell on the American soil (cheers).

Hitherto, as a nation, we have been a by-word and a hissing even among the despotisms of the old world; for they will not tolerate so infamous a system as that of negro slavery within their domains. But now that we have thrown off this terrible incubus, and are resolved to be consistently and universally free, we shall become world-wide propagandists in the cause of human liberty and republican institutions, through the power of a glorious example, and the irresistible growth of mighty ideas (cheers). On this continent no Maximilian must be allowed to sit securely on his throne (protracted cheering). The despotisms of Europe must be made to tremble to their foundations, and their down-trodden millions summoned to assert their rights under the banner of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!" (Applause.) We will reëcho the admonitory, penitential and sublime words of Whittier:

"Hear it, old Europe! we have sworn
The death of slavery. When it falls,
Look to your vassals in their turn,
Your poor dumb millions, crushed and worn,
Your prisons and your palace-walls!

Oh, kingly mockers! scoffing show
What deeds in Freedom's name we do;
Yet know that every taunt ye throw
Across the waters goads our slow
Progression tow'rds the right and true.

Not always shall your outraged poor,
Appalled by democratic crime,
Grind as their fathers ground before;
The hour which sees *our* prison door
Swing wide shall be *their* triumph time!

Oh then, my brothers! every blow
Ye deal is felt the wide earth through;
Whatever here uplifts the low,
Or humbles Freedom's hateful foe,
Blesses the Old World through the New!"

Our country thus redeemed, thus qualified to lead and save, with not a slave left to clank his chains, each one of us may proudly quote the language of the Irish orator Curran, with a single alteration:

"I speak in the spirit of the *American* law, which makes liberty commensurate with and inseparable from the *American* soil; which proclaims, even to the stranger and sojourner, the moment he sets his foot upon American earth, that the ground on which he treads is holy and consecrated by the Genius of Universal Emancipation. No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced; no matter what complexion, incompatible with freedom, an Indian or an African sun may have burned upon him; no matter in what disastrous battle his liberty may have been cloven down; no matter with what solemnities he may have been devoted upon the altar of slavery; the first moment he touches the sacred soil of America, the altar and the god sink together in the dust; his soul walks abroad in her own majesty; his body swells beyond the measure of its chains that burst from around him; and he stands redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled by the irresistible Genius of Universal Emancipation" (cheers).

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman and fellow-citizens, slavery abolished, the Constitution purged, and liberty the acknowledged birthright of every man of every complexion and race, I feel, as I never felt before, in the highest strain of patriotism to exclaim:

"Oh, thus be it ever, when freemen shall stand
Between our loved home and the war's desolation;
Blest with victory and peace, may our Heaven-rescued land
Praise the Power that hath made and preserved us a nation!
Then conquer we must, for our cause it is just;
And this be our motto, 'In God is our trust;'
And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!"

(Long continued applause.)

The following hymn, written for the occasion by Oliver Wendell Holmes, Esq., was sung by the audience to the tune of "Old Hundred":

Giver of all that crowns our days,
With grateful hearts we sing thy praise!
Through deep and desert led by Thee,
Our Canaan's promised land we see.

Ruler of Nations, judge our cause!
If we have kept thy holy laws,
The sons of Belial curse in vain
The day that rends the captive's chain.

Thou God of vengeance! Israel's Lord!
Break in their grasp the shield and sword,
And make thy righteous judgment known
Till all thy foes are overthrown!

Then, Father, lay Thy healing hand
In mercy on our stricken land;
Lead all its wanderers to the fold,
And be their Shepherd as of old!

So shall one Nation's song ascend
To Thee, our Ruler, Father, Friend;
While Heaven's wide arch resounds again
With Peace on earth, good will to men!

Rev. Edwin N. Kirk, D.D., was introduced as the next speaker, and made a brief address full of hope for the future and of thanksgiving to God for the marvellous progress in the march of freedom by the nation and people. Rev. George A. Rue, pastor of the Anderson Street Bethel Church (colored), being invited, sang with great effect the hymn "Sound the loud timbrel o'er Egypt's dark sea."

The Chairman then introduced Maj.-Gen. Butler, who spoke as follows:

SPEECH OF GENERAL BUTLER.

Almost ninety years since, amid the radiant glories of mid-summer, our fathers assembled to congratulate each other upon a declaration of human rights, which has since been claimed to be a charter to the white man only. Seventy-seven years ago, in mid-winter, Massachusetts debated the acceptance of the Constitution of the United States—the solemn compact of assurance to those rights—the most perfect form of government ever devised by man,—but which left uncared for and unprovided safeguards of freedom and equality of right to all men irrespective of color. Doubtless our fathers believed that the clear interests of the rising nation would protect it from the then receding weight of human slavery. But, alas, a single Massachusetts invention—the cotton gin—opposed the present interests of the individual to the future good of the State, and made the burden—greater than that of the Christian Pilgrim—seem eternal. From that one defect of constitutional law has arisen the most gigantic national sin, followed by the most terrible national retribution with which the Divine will has seen fit to afflict the children of men. The nation brought to a sense of justice by its chastisement, we are now met to congratulate ourselves upon the first step taken in supplying this omission of the frame of government of '87. Released from all constitutional obligations to protect slavery, acting upon the frame of government itself, three-fourths of the loyal people of the country will have no difficulty in erasing from their fundamental law this, the last blot upon their civilization (applause). Amid the joyous scenes of this triumph of the right, which animate the hearts of all good men, even now, and here, it may not be unfit to pause for a moment, to consider the duties and obligations under which we find ourselves to this class of citizens, so constituted and declared by this change in our organic law. Laying aside all prejudices, giving up all theories, putting away all predilections, we should approach the subject as one calling for prompt, active and efficient justice; at least to make amends for former long-continued wrongs.

By the final passage of the Amendment, which we celebrate, every negro slave is made a citizen of the United States, entitled as of right to every political and legal immunity and privilege which belongs to that great franchise (loud applause). He may well say, I am an American citizen (renewed applause). If he may not proudly proclaim, with the Apostle, "I was free-born," yet he can truly claim, as did the Chief Captain, "With a great sum, obtained I this freeedom" (great applause). Of these rights, or either of them, no man, no combination or confederation of men, can with justice deprive the negro. As a *Nation* he is of us, with us, and a part of us; equal in right under the law (cheers and applause). To the men of Massachusetts, in this so clear and self-evident proposition, there seems no difficulty. Since 1789, the colored man in Massachusetts, under the laws thereof, modified only by the laws of the United States, has enjoyed the rights and privileges of every other citizen of Massachusetts. The child goes to the same school. The man partakes of the same employments. The same learned professions, medicine, the bar, the pulpit are open to him, and more than all, he carries to the election of his rulers and framing of the laws the equal ballot, which

"——soft falling
Like the snow flake on the sod,
Executes the freeman's will
As lightning does the will of God."

(Great applause.)

In other sections of the country, the mind, warped and twisted, by the influence of the system of slavery, whose funeral obsequies we are now attending, does not at once comprehend these truths, and admit the force of the inexorable logic of equal rights. Men, otherwise just and good, have been brought to believe that the negro can have no practical rights as a citizen—no claims to be considered as an integral part of the inhabitants of the country, and is to be treated as if he were an alien—nay, more; as if he were a beast, and a dangerous beast beside, either to be sent out of the country or to be herded and penned as such, in some remote or unhealthy corner thereof, as not fit to live on the soil which gave him birth, and to which he has every right, and is held by every tie and attachment which binds a man to that portion of earth which he calls home and country. It has been therefore proposed to send him away, to herd him in rice swamps or cotton islands, where alone he may listen to the sad music of the roar of the ocean surf, not more relentless and unceasing to him than the wrongs of his fellow-man. There to prevent any white man or white woman in the missionary labor of love to visit him. Uneducated, to put him beyond the pale of education—to allow his child never to know the benefit of the common school. Just released from a worse than Egyptian bondage, to make him a colonist, without the implements of colonization or fostering care on the part of the mother country.

To any such illogical and unjust treatment of the negro, it need not be said that the people of Massachusetts will never consent (loud applause). Our material interests, the interests of the country, oppose it. For two hundred and fifty years at least we have been importing the laborer, because we needed labor in this country. The necessity for labor here has caused it to be imported, even to being employed in the wasteful habits of slavery. Shall we, now that four millions of strong hands and willing hearts are made free laborers, productive and profitable, take them from the lands which they have tilled—from the homes in which they have been reared—from their hearth stones, as dear to them as our roof-tree is to us, and send them away to some foreign land, or shut them up in some portion of this, where their labor, if not wholly unproductive and lost, must be unprofitable? Our sense of justice denies it. They have taken up arms freely and willingly in our defence, and we have given them their freedom and rights as citizens.

What just freedom is it to them to be penned in a corner or to be shut up in a rice swamp, and not be allowed to see the face of their white fellow-citizens, except it may be of a soldier sent as their guard? What true citizenship is it to be deprived of their equal rights in the land their arms have helped to save from the fiery furnace of rebellion, and to be put upon such portions of it only as are not thought to be well habitable for their white fellow-soldiers? What fair division can it be of the heritage acquired in part by their blood, to give their white fellow-soldier one hundred and sixty acres of land to be located where he chooses, "the finest the sun e'er shone upon," to him and his heirs forever, while to the colored soldier, scarred, perhaps, with honorable wounds, but forty acres of a rice swamp to be allotted, or eight hundred feet front of marsh on a sluggish river, and that a possessory title only? And yet the distinguished General who makes this proposition says, "the young and able-bodied negroes are to be encouraged to contribute their share towards maintaining their own freedom, and securing their rights as citizens of the United States." What encouragement to enlist is this? What freedom? What rights of citizenship for which to shed one's blood, even if it is only black blood? What wise statesmanship ever yet founded a colony from which the young and able-bodied men were taked as soldiers? Where the blacksmiths, carpenters, and the skilled mechanics were taken from the settlement; and where the respectable heads of families had no inducements held out to them for leaving the homes of their childhood, and making new homes in the wilderness, save a possessory title only, to forty acres of land, not too much out of water? Under such inducements, under such pupilage, with such restrictions, and with such hopes, even our hardy Anglo-Saxon fathers, who landed at Plymouth, would not have thriven. How much less, then, is the negro, by our wrongs untaught, uncultivated, and without the habit of self-dependence, fitted thus to take care of himself. The precepts of our holy religion forbid it. Every benevolent Christian in the land has contributed his mite to send the self-sacrificing missionary to redeem the Pagan from darkness, and yet here it is proposed to erect a heathenage upon our own soil, into which no Christian minister or Sabbath-school teacher upon their high and holy mission, shall penetrate, if it is their good fortune to have a white face. I repeat again: Massachusetts is unalterably opposed to any proposition of colonization or segregation of American citizens, made so by this amendment of the Constitution (great cheering).

No! We propose, on the other hand, simply to let the negro alone (renewed cheers); that he shall, in fact, enjoy the right of selecting his place of labor; the person for whom he will labor, if not for himself; to make his own contract for his labor; to determine its length and its value; to allow him at least the enjoyment of the primordial curse, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread"; restrained only by the laws applying to him, and to all alike; as the rain falleth upon the just and the unjust. We also accept the fact, that by our injustice to him and his race, he is thrown upon the government, unused to care for himself, unfurnished with means of beginning life anew. And we agree that it is our duty, and the duty of the government to remedy this injustice; to see to it that he is taught; that he is gradually brought to a state of self-dependence, and independence of others; that he shall have a fair share of the lands that he and his fathers have wrought upon; that he shall be left in the several States where his labor is needed and is productive; and that he be furnished at first with the means of beginning that life which justice, equal laws and equal rights have for the first time opened up to him and his children forever. And when this is done we believe our duty is done, and that thereafter, so far as governmental interference goes, the negro is to be left severely alone (great applause). We believe that he shall work, as every man must work, or become a vagabond. We believe he must be taught, as every man must be taught, to be a good citizen. We believe he must be furnished with the means of beginning life, as every man must be furnished with the means of beginning life, either with education, habits of self-dependence, or with the fruits of ancestral earnings. And when these are given to him we have repaired in part the wrong we have done him. We may then hope to receive the pardon of the Almighty for the sins we and our fathers have committed towards him. Failing in this, our duty, we may fear still further chastisement from His hand who has sustained us, as He sustained our fathers, because the bitter cup of purification and chastisement has not yet been suffered to pass from our lips. As a nation we have taken the first step in the right direction. We have bowed to the first principles of eternal justice. If we go forward with no halting tread, taking no step backwards, we may look with humble confidence, that hereafter our political sky shall be so healthy and so pure that no thunder-storm and torrent will need to be sent to clear the national atmosphere and to wash away with blood the sins of the people. Unless we do justice how can we hope for justice or mercy? And although the punishment for a national wrong and national sin is sometimes in wisdom delayed, and wickedness seems for a time to escape punishment, yet although

"The mills of God grind slowly,
They grind exceeding small."

Amid our joyous notes of congratulatory triumph may we not also pause for a single moment to turn our memories to those pioneers in the cause of justice, of whom we can say, "would they had lived to have seen this day." I need not name them—their memories are still green in our hearts, but the names of two flash before us. Parker, the divine, whose lips ever defended the cause of freedom in this hall! (Applause.) Mann, the teacher, a pioneer of education to an oppressed race (applause). It shall not hereafter be said that Massachusetts is ungrateful; for to the latter at least we look forward to the hour when his statue, gracing the front of our legislative halls, shall do honor to him and to our commonwealth (applause). The two statues overshadowing the broad entrance to our capitol, making together the full complement of Massachusetts statesmen. One, conservative, who wisely expounded the Constitution as it was; the other, progressive, who dared to look forward to the amendment of a material defect of that great instrument whose passage now peals liberty and equality of right to the world (loud and long-continued applause).

A quartette of gentlemen sang "The Artillerist's Oath" in a fine manner, and the exercises were closed by the singing of the Doxology.

ARMING OF SOUTHERN SLAVES.

Correspondence of the Philadelphia Press.

BEFORE RICHMOND, Feb. 3, 1865.

THE ARMING OF THE SLAVES.

FROM what I can learn from deserters and refugees, of both colors, who may be relied upon, there is no subject which is engrossing so much attention in Richmond as the proposition to arm a corps of negroes. Gen. Lee, Jeff. Davis, and many of the rebel chiefs are known to be in favor of the measure. The F. F. V.'s, who, through favoritism, are detailed to stay at home, see, in this movement, a crushing of all their fondest hopes. This class, of course, oppose the measure as impracticable, and beneath the dignity of Southern gentlemen. The officers in the rebel army, who lose everything dear to man when the authority of the Union shall be maintained, seem to be free of the scruples.

THE FEELING OF THE SOLDIERS ON THE SUBJECT.

The rank and file, most of whom have been thrust into the army against their inclination, and all of whom are retained therein by a remorseless despotism, are only praying that the rebel chiefs may put black troops into their service, as it would serve as the cause, and be made the occasion, for their laying down their arms and returning home in disgust. Such an opportunity for indignation among the chivalry would be hailed with suppressed feelings of exultation. The rebel authorities are by no means ignorant of this feeling, but ascribe it to the disinclination of their soldiers to fight alongside of the negro, which they believe can be overcome by the rigor of discipline. There is another class of persons who are more honest in their opposition to the measure than all other classes. They are the negroes themselves.

THOUGHTS OF THE SLAVE—THE REASON PLAIN TO HIM.

When this question was first broached to the public, it was as evident to the most ignorant slave of the South as to Davis himself that it was dictated by rebel necessity. The idea was so repulsive to these poor, humble people that they immediately began to devise ways and means to escape to our lines, or, in their own vernacular, "to flank de pickets." The more thoughtful of the negroes in Richmond rather liked the idea, and, hoping that it would be put into execution, began to prepare the minds of their people for an important chapter in this struggle, in which they were praying to be permitted to take a part.

A GREAT SECRET ASSOCIATION OF "LIBERTY."

Secret associations were at once organized in Richmond, which rapidly spread throughout Virginia, where the venerable patriarchs of this oppressed people prayerfully assembled together to deliberate upon the proposition of taking up arms in defence of the South. There was but one opinion as to the rebellion and its object; but the question which puzzled them most was, How were they to act the part about to be assigned to them in this martial drama? After a cordial interchange of opinions it was decided with great unanimity, and finally ratified by all the auxiliary associations everywhere, that black men should promptly respond to the call of the rebel chiefs, whenever it should be made, for them to take up arms.

HOW SLAVES WERE TO FIGHT FOR REBELLION.

A question arose as to what position they would likely occupy in an engagement, which occasioned no little solicitude, from which all minds were relieved by agreeing that if they were placed in front as soon as the battle began the negroes were to raise a shout for Abraham Lincoln and the Union, and, satisfied there would be plenty of supports from the Federal force, they were to turn like uncaged tigers upon the rebel hordes. Should they be placed in the rear, it was also understood that as soon as the firing began they were to charge furiously upon the chivalry, which would place them between two fires, which would disastrously defeat the army of Lee, if not accomplish its entire annihilation.

THE PROOF OF AUTHENTICITY OF THE PLAN.

Such is the plan which I learned from the Vice-President of the combined movement, who delayed his exit from Richmond some six weeks, under the impression and the hope that negroes would be armed in the rebel service. Being satisfied that it would not be attempted, he took passage upon the underground railroad and arrived safely within our lines. Although my informant is of the opinion that negroes will not be armed, yet, from later intelligence which I have received, I am assured that the rebel authorities, who place much reliance upon what might be accomplished with this element of strength, under drill and discipline, are using every means which necessity can suggest or artifice can devise to make the measure popular. With the view of making it palatable to that class of rebels who do not realize the necessity of sacrificing the system to secure their independence, it is to be manœuvred upon such a treacherous basis as will enable the rebel chiefs to keep their word of promise to the negro's ear, but break it to their hopes.

THE SLAVES NOT ALL UNION-LOVING.

It must not be supposed that the blacks to a man are loyal to the old flag. The hesitating policy of the government at the outbreak of the war, coupled with the terrible recollection that fugitive slaves were returned by Union officers, and were made to pass through the severest ordeal of Southern torture, and the impression which this engendered, that the Yankees would sell them to Cuba, and other stories which worked equally upon their fears, have induced many to cling to the cause of the South under protest, and suffer the evils they have rather than fly to others they know not of. These, however, are the exception, while the millions, whose faith has never wavered, are still praying that the old flag may ever be victorious.

ROMANCES OF SLAVE REFUGEES.

There are abundant instances of unfaltering devotion to the Union among this class, and the perils through which both bond and free have passed, to escape from the dominion of Southern chiefs, would make the basis for many a thrilling romance. Justenia Gerad, a quadroon of rather prepossessing appearance, sooner than marry in Richmond, where the laws refused to recognize the sacredness of the compact, fled with her betrothed to our lines, where they arrived after having concealed themselves many days, travelled many nights, and waded through cold streams of water up to their necks. A short time before leaving rebeldom, she, with a number of others of the F. F. V. colored people was arrested and confined in prison for three days for attending the wedding of a friend in the country, and only escaped the disgrace of stripes at the public whipping-post through the earnest aid of counsel, pleading that they were assembled upon a white man's plantation. Others, no less eventful and equally thrilling, are occurring almost daily, and to the novelist I commend these interesting incidents in their experience.

THE SLAVES WELL FED AND CLAD.

Most of the slaves that come into our lines have a respectable and well-dressed appearance, and have cheerful countenances. When one considers that negroes dare not smoke cigars in the streets of Richmond; that a half-dozen males or females are not permitted to assemble, by accident or invitation, at the house of a friend; that they are excluded from riding inside of coaches, except at funerals—when only four are allowed, however urgent may be the necessity, or the inability of this number to accommodate all the family; that it is forbidden them to have carriages at their weddings; that black ministers are not allowed to preach to their own people, in churches built out of their own money, from the pulpits, but on the floor; that even now it is being agitated that colored people shall not be permitted to dress as fine as they have been indulging in, and innumerable other measures calculated to humble their pride and brutalize their manhood, involving, as any infraction of these prohibitions certainly will, a public disgrace at the whipping-post, it is no wonder that the negro's head is clear and his heart right upon the question of sustaining the Union.

SPEECH OF GEORGE THOMPSON

*At the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, Thursday morning, Jan. 26th.**

Phonographically reported by JAS. M. W. YERRINTON.

MR. PRESIDENT AND FRIENDS: Were it not that my name has been announced as one of those who are to address you at this morning's meeting, I should resist any importunity to present myself to your attention. As it is, I shall crave at your hands permission to defer to some future session the remarks I may desire to offer on the present aspect of your national affairs, in relation to the question of slavery.

It affords me unspeakable satisfaction to be able to express my all but unqualified approbation of the resolutions which have been submitted by my friend Mr. Phillips, and also of the observations he has made upon them [applause]. If my approbation is slightly qualified, it is simply with respect to those parts of my friend's address in which he criticizes the administration of a certain high functionary, charged with the conduct of affairs in a remote State, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty. I do not say those criticisms are too harsh, or are undeserved, but that I do not feel myself competent, at present, to pronounce judgment in the matter. When, however, my friend calls upon you, as he does in the first resolution, to acknowledge with devout thankfulness the marvellous triumphs of the anti-slavery principle throughout the United States, I ask the privilege of blending my tribute of gratitude with yours, to the great Disposer of events for His interference in your behalf, and for His having so ordered those events as to cause them to work in the direction of your national redemption from the crime, the guilt, and curse of slavery. With equal cordiality can I echo everything which he has said intended to incite you to vigilance, union, firmness and uncompromising fidelity in this the last stage and crisis of the great conflict in which you have been engaged with the hosts of oppression for more than thirty years. Think nothing done while anything remains to be accomplished, but carry on the holy war until it is brought to a final and everlasting end [applause].

With Mr. Phillips, I would urge you to take warning by the conduct of England in the matter of negro apprenticeship. Consent to no measure that shall leave the negro half a slave and half a freeman [applause]. Let your battle-cry to the last be "Immediate, unconditional, absolute Emancipation." Expose and denounce the delusion that the negro, or any other human being, here or anywhere, requires to be, or can be, prepared for personal freedom. The use of freedom can only be learnt by its possession, and is the right and heritage of every man [applause]. I unite with my friend when he says that, if to recapitulate the triumphs which have been achieved thus far in the cause of freedom were the sole end of our speeches, we should but waste words. Nevertheless, during the last twelve months, I have been constantly addressing public audiences in this country, and in all my speeches have deemed it my duty to count up and exhibit the solid gains which have accrued to the cause of liberty during the present war, and the contemporaneous revolution in the sentiments of people; but at the same time, I have insisted upon the duty, growing out of past successes, to press forward until not only shall slavery be abolished, but the vile distinctions founded upon complexional difference utterly obliterated [applause].

I therefore agree with Mr. Phillips that your Constitution needs two amendments: one prohibiting slavery everywhere throughout the Union, and another forbidding the State to enact laws which shall make any distinction among their citizens on account of race or color. Let your Constitution be so amended that it shall, for all time to come, be the rule, the principle, the fundamental law of this Republic, that there shall be no distinction in regard to civil or political rights or privileges founded upon complexion [applause]. I would that the same power which is about to decree the abolition and prohibition of slavery should also decree the utter and eternal annihilation of all differences at present existing in consequence of dissimilarity of complexion [applause]. I, equally with Mr. Phillips, desire to see the negro enfranchised. I desire to see him protected by the ballot. In a word, placed upon a footing of absolute civil and political equality with the white man [applause]. With Mr. Phillips, I believe that if this country is to be saved, it must be saved through the negro, and for the negro; that without his assistance it cannot be reëstablished in its integrity, nor preserved when it is reëstablished [loud applause]. There is, then, you perceive, Mr. President, little if any difference between myself and the honored friend by whom I have been preceded; none, if the counts upon which he has arraigned the administration of Gen. Banks can be sustained, and into that question it is not my intention to enter. I leave Gen. Banks to Mr. Phillips, to the government he serves, and to the

* This speech, it will be seen, immediately followed that of Mr. Phillips, published last week.

people of Massachusetts. Let me, however, express my gratification that so much that is really good, and about which there is and can be no diversity of opinion, has been done in Louisiana; that slavery has been abolished and freedom proclaimed; that schools have been established; that a new order of things has been inaugurated; and that we have seen and heard on this platform, to-day, singing the songs of freedom, and waving the banner of the Union, the first fruits of that glorious harvest which shall ere long be reaped in the form of universal liberty [applause]. If, standing as we do to-day upon the threshold of entire emancipation, we are about to see the probibition of slavery in this country made a part of the Constitution, it is certainly the duty of those who call themselves Abolitionists to see that they are not cheated out of any portion of that freedom which they design to confer upon the slave. Thirty-two years ago, at my first meeting with Mr. Garrison in England, he paid me the compliment of saying that he perfectly sympathized with me in the efforts I was then making to induce the people of Great Britain to repudiate the system of apprenticeship which was unhappily made a part of the abolition act of 1833. In consenting to that measure, the friends of the negro, as I have always thought, not only compromised their principles, but, as the result proved, fell into a fatal error. Mr. Phillips was guilty of no exaggeration in the picture which he drew of the courts of justice, so-called, in Jamaica and other West India colonies, during the existence of that bastard system, that mockery of freedom, called "apprenticeship"—a system in some respects worse than slavery itself—a system so hateful, oppressive and cruel, that the British nation had to be aroused to a second effort for the purpose of effecting its overthrow. I trust no similar blunder will be committed here. Let full justice be done, and at once; let the negro be made free; let him be clothed with the rights that will enable him to protect himself; and thus will be avoided those difficulties, complications and miseries which would not fail to follow from the adoption of any system short of absolute and entire emancipation [applause]. Members of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, accept my heartfelt congratulations upon the mighty changes which have taken place since the period when it was my honor to be first associated with you! changes so vast in their magnitude, so endless in their issues, so beneficent in their consequences, that words fail to express their importance. This day you behold the fruit of your labors; to-day America endorses, to their full extent, the principles you have for more than thirty years promulgated. At last, the nation is awakened to a sense of the danger, the criminality and the shame of slavery. What remains, but that you gather up your strength, that you gird up the loins of your mind, and that you press forward until the nation ratifies by its acts, and establishes by its Constitution, the sacred principles for which you have been contending?

I cannot sit down without offering to my friends present, whose complexion identifies them with that portion of the Americnn people who have been so long the victims of prejudice, proscription and slavery, my congratulations upon the great change which has already been effected in their condition; and upon the altered *status* which I believe they will soon occupy amongst the citizens of this country. In your behalf, my friends, I hail the brightening prospect. I offer my congratulations to my eloquent friend, and former associate, Frederick Douglass, whom I see present amongst us this morning [loud applause] I congratulate him that Maryland, the State where he was born; the State under whose laws he was held as a slave; the State from which he fled to the free soil of Massachusetts, is to-day A FREE STATE, and that the *elite* of the city of Baltimore now invite the fugitive slave to come amongst them, and lift up that wondrous voice which, for twenty years past, has been uttering in thunder-tones its denunciations of the foul wrong of slavery (applause.) I congratulate my colored friends, that to day two millions of their once enslaved race are free; that the United States army contains two hundred thousand brave men, who, instead of lifting the hoe in the field for tyrant-masters, are wielding the sword in the cause of their own liberty, and the defence of a common nationality. Mr. President, it cannot be that the race who have furnished so many devoted warriors, who have displayed such matchless bravery in the face of our country's enemies, can ever again be reduced to that condition of degradation in which, to the shame of this country, they have hitherto been held [applause.]

The signs of the times are indeed encouraging; they all point to the fruition and consummation of our labors and our hopes. Let us not, however, lay down our arms, or slacken our exertions. Let us hold fast whereunto we have attained, and press onward to the goal. The people must not leave this matter to be decided wholly by the events of the war, or by the deliberations of politicians, or according to the theory of statesmen, or by the decisions of Cabinets. Should they do so, then, alas! for the negro. Not that I fear in regard to his personal liberty; for that, I believe, is assured. The fetters that have bound his limbs will, I believe, be broken; but we demand for him a higher liberty, a liberty from all those disabilities and degrading distinctions to which his race have heretofore been subjected [applause.] We wish his personal liberty to be the means to an end. The negro was a chattel, he is to be a man, and we require that the man should be made a citizen, and that, in possession of the full rights and franchises of an American, he should be able to defend his manhood and assert his equality [applause.]

Mr. President and friends, I now yield the floor. I thank you for permitting me to be heard to this extent. I leave the further discussion of these important resolutions in abler hands, and shall remain amongst you a quiet but interested listener to the remarks of better men.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE

[The message of the President giving an account of the circumstances that preceded and led to the late Peace Conference in Hampton Roads, and announcing the abortive result of that Conference, is little more than a dry collection of letters and telegrams, with which it is quite unnecessary to consume our space. The substance of the whole is contained in Mr. Seward's letter of instruction to Charles Francis Adams, to which we give place below. First, however, let us reproduce the President's letter of instruction to Mr. Seward, under which he first went to meet the rebel Commissioners:]

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, Jan. 31, 1865.

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State:*

You will proceed to Fortress Monroe, Va., there to meet and informally confer with Messrs. Stephens, Hunter and Campbell, on the basis of my letter to F. P. Blair, Esq, of Jan. 18, 1865, a copy of which you have. You will make known to them that three things are indispensable, to wit: *First, the restoration of the national authority throughout all the States. Second, no receding by the Executive of the United States, on the slavery question, from the position assumed thereon in the late annual message to Congress, and in the preceding documents. Third, no cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war, and the disbanding of all the forces hostile to the government.* You will inform them that all propositions of theirs not inconsistent with the above will be considered and passed upon in a spirit of sincere liberality. You will hear all they may choose to say, and report it to me. You will not assume to definitely consummate anything. Yours, etc.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

[The President took care that the contemplated Conference should not delay military operations for a single moment. Witness the following:]

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, Feb. 1, 1865.

Lieut.-Gen. GRANT, *City Point, Va.:*

Let nothing which is transpiring change, hinder, or delay your military movements or plans.

A. LINCOLN.

[Having given an account of the way in which the Conference was brought about, the President concludes his message with this brief summary of what took place when the parties were at last face to face:]

"On the morning of the 3d, the three gentlemen, Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell, came aboard of our steamer, and had an interview with the Secretary of State and myself of several hours' duration. No question of preliminaries to the meeting was then and there made or mentioned. No other person was present. No papers were exchanged or produced, and it was in advance agreed that the conversation was to be informal and verbal merely. On our part the whole substance of the instructions to the Secretary of State, hereinbefore recited, was stated and insisted upon, and nothing was said inconsistent therewith. While by the other party *it was not said that, in any event or on any condition, they ever would consent to reunion; and yet they equally omitted to declare that they would so consent.* They seemed to desire a postponement of that question, and the adoption of some other course first, which, as some of them seemed to argue, might or might not lead to reunion, but which course we thought would amount to an indefinite postponement. The conference ended without result."

MR. SEWARD TO MR. ADAMS.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, Feb. 9, 1865.

SIR: It is a truism, that in times of peace there are always instigators of war; so soon as a war begins, there are citizens who emphatically demand negotiations of peace. The advocates of war, after an agitation, longer or shorter, generally gain their fearful end, though the war declared is not unfrequently unnecessary and unwise. So peace agitations, in time of war, ultimately bring about an abandonment of the conflict, sometimes without securing the advantages which were originally expected from the conflict. The agitators for war in time of peace, and for peace in time of war, are not necessarily, or perhaps ordinarily, unpatriotic in their purposes or motives. Results alone determine whether they are wise or unwise. The treaty of peace concluded at Gaudaloupe Hidalgo was secured by an irregular negotiation under the sanction of the government.

Some of the efforts which have been made to bring about negotiations with a view to end our civil war are known to the whole world, because they have employed foreign as well as domestic agents. Others, with whom you have had to deal confidentially, are known to yourself, although they have not publicly transpired. Other efforts have occurred here, which are known only to the persons actually moving in them and to this government. I am now to give for your information an account of an affair of the same general character which recently received much attention here, and which doubtless will excite inquiry abroad.

A few days ago Francis P. Blair, Esq., of Maryland, obtained from the President a simple leave to pass through our lines without definite views known to the government. Mr. Blair visited Richmond, and on his return he showed to the President a letter which Jefferson Davis had written to Mr. Blair, in which Davis wrote that Mr. Blair was at liberty to say to President Lincoln that Davis was now, as he always had been, willing to send Commissioners, if assured they would be received, or to receive any that should be sent; that he was not disposed to find obstacles in forms, that he would send Commissioners to confer with the President with a view to the restoration of peace between the two countries if he could be assured they would be received.

The President, therefore, on the 18th day of January, addressed a note to Mr. Blair, in which the President, after acknowledging that he had read the note of Mr. Davis, said that he was, is, and always should be willing to receive any agents that Mr. Davis, or any other influential man now actually resisting the authority of the government, might send to confer informally with the President with a view to the restoration of peace to the people of our common country.

Mr. Blair visited Richmond with this letter, and then again came back to Washington.

On the 29th ult. we were advised from the camp of Lieut.-Gen. Grant that Alexander H. Stephens, R. M. T. Hunter, and John A. Campbell were applying for leave to pass through the lines to Washington as Peace Commissioners, to confer with the President. They were permitted by the Lieutenant-General to come to his headquarters to await there the decision of the President. Major Eckert was sent down to meet the party from Richmond at Gen. Grant's headquarters. The Major was directed to deliver to them a copy of the President's letter to Mr. Blair, with a note to be addressed to them, and signed by the Major, in which they were directly informed that if they should be allowed to pass our lines, they would be understood as coming for an informal conference on the basis of the aforenamed letter of the 18th of January to Mr. Blair. If they should express their assent to this condition in writing, then Major Eckert was directed to give them safe conduct to Fortress Monroe, where a person coming from the President would meet them. It being thought probable from a report of their conversation with Lieut-Gen. Grant that the Richmond party would in the manner prescribed accept the condition mentioned, the Secretary of State was charged by the President with the duty of representing this government in the expected informal conference. The Secretary arrived at Fortress Monroe on the night of the 1st day of February, Major Eckert met him on the morning of the 2d of February with the information that the persons who had come from Richmond had not accepted in writing the condition upon which he was allowed to give them conduct to Fortress Monroe. The Major had given the same information by telegraph to the President at Washington. On receiving this information the President prepared a telegram directing the Secretary to return to Washington. The Secretary was preparing at the same moment to so return without waiting for information from the President, but at this juncture, Lieut.-Gen. Grant telegraphed to the Secretary of War, as well as to the Secretary of State, that the party from Richmond had reconsidered and accepted the condition tendered them through Maj. Eckert, and Gen. Grant urgently advised the President to confer in person with the Richmond party. Under these circumstances, the Secretary, by the President's direction, remained at Fortress Monroe, and the President joined him there on the night of the 2d of February.

The Richmond party was brought down the James river in a United States steam transport during the day, and the transport was anchored in Hampton Roads. On the morning of the 3d, the President, attended by the Secretary, received Messrs. Stephens, Hunter and Campbell on board the United States steam transport River Queen, in Hampton Roads. The conference was altogether informal. There was no attendance of secretaries, clerks or other witnesses. Nothing was written or read. The conversation, although earnest and free, was calm and courteous and kind on both sides. The Richmond party approached the discussion rather indirectly, and at no time did they maka categorical demands or render formal stipulations or absolute refusals. Nevertheless, during the Conference, which lasted four hours, the several points at issue between the government and the insurgents were distinctly raised and discussed fully, intelligently, and in an amicable spirit. What the insurgent party seemed chiefly to favor was a postponement of the question of separation upon which the war is waged, and a mutual direction of the efforts of the Government, as well as those of the insurgents, to some extrinsic policy or scheme for a season, during which passions might be expected to subside, and the armies be reduced, and trade and intercourse between the people of both sections be resumed. It was suggested by them that through such postponement, we might now have immediate peace, with some not very certain prospect of an ultimate satisfactory adjustment of political relations between the government and the States, section or people, now engaged in conflict with it. The suggestion, though deliberately considered, was nevertheless, regarded by the President as one of armistice or truce, and he announced that we can agree to no cessation or suspension of hostilities except on the basis of the disbandment of the insurgent forces, and the restoration of the National authority throughout all the States in the Union. Collaterally, and in subordination to the proposition which was thus announced, the anti-slavery policy of the United States was reviewed in all its bearings, and the President announced that he must not be expected to depart from the positions he had heretofore assumed in his Proclamation of Emancipation, and other documents, as these positions were reiterated in his annual message. It was further declared by the President *that the complete restoration of the National authority everywhere was an indispensable condition of any assent on our part to whatever form of peace might be proposed.* The President assured the other party that while he must adhere to these positions, he would be prepared, so far as power is lodged with the Executive, to exercise liberality. Its power, however, is limited by the Constitution, and, when peace should be made, Congress must necessarily act in regard to appropriations of money and to the admission of Representatives from the insurrectionary States.

The Richmond party were then informed that Congress had on the 31st ult. adopted by a constitutional majority a joint resolution submitting to the several States the proposition to abolish slavery throughout the Union, and that there is every reason to expect that it will be accepted by three-fourths of the States, so as to become a part of the national organic law.

The conference came to an end by mutual acquiescence, without producing an agreement of views upon the several matters discussed, or any of them. Nevertheless, it is perhaps of some importance that we have been able to submit our opinions and views directly to prominent insurgents and to hear them in answer, in a courteous and not unfriendly manner. I am, Sir, your obedient servant. WM. H. SEWARD.

THE REPORT OF THE REBEL COMMISSIONERS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Confederate States of America:

Having recently received a written notification which satisfied me that the President of the United States was disposed to confer informally with unofficial agents that might be sent by me with a view to the restoration of peace, I requested the Hon. Alexander H. Stephens, the Hon. R. M. T. Hunter and the Hon. John A. Campbell to proceed through our lines to hold a conference with Mr. Lincoln, or such persons as he might depute to represent him.

I herewith submit for the information of Congress the report of the eminent citizens above named, showing that the enemy refuse to enter into negotiations with the Confederate States, or any one of them separately, or to give our people any other terms or guaranties than those which a conqueror may grant, or to permit us to have peace on any other basis than our unconditional submission to their rule, coupled with the acceptance of their recent legislation, including an amendment to the Constitution for the emancipation of negro slaves, and with the right on the part of the Federal Congress to legislate on the subject of the relations between the white and black population of each State.

Such is, as I understand, the effect of the amendment to the Constitution which has been adopted by the Congress of the United States. JEFFERSON DAVIS.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, RICHMOND, Feb. 6, 1865.

RICHMOND, Va, Feb. 5, 1865.

To the President of the Confederate States:

SIR: Under your letter of appointment of the 28th ult., we proceeded to seek an informal conference with Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, upon the subject mentioned in your letter.

The conference was granted, and took place on the 30th inst. on board a steamer anchored in Hampton Roads, where we met President Lincoln and the Hon. Mr Seward, Secretary of State of the United States.

It continued for several hours, and was both full and explicit.

We learned from them that the message of President Lincoln to the Congress of the United States in December last explains clearly and distinctly his sentiments as to terms, conditions and method of proceeding, by which peace can be secured to the people. And we were not informed that they would be modified or altered to obtain that end.

We understood from him that no terms or proposals of any treaty or agreement, looking to an ultimate settlement, would be entertained or made by him with the authorities of the Confederate States, because that would be a recognition of their existence as a separate power, which, under no circumstances, would be done; and for like reasons that no such terms would be entertained by him from States separately; that no extended truce or armistice, as at present advised, would be granted or allowed, without satisfactory assurances, in advance, of a complete restoration of the authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States over all places within the States of the Confederacy—that whatever consequences may follow from the reëstablishment of that authority must be accepted, but that the individuals subject to pains and penalties under the laws of the United States, might rely upon a very liberal use of the power confided to him to remit those pains and penalties, if peace be restored.

During the conference, the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States, adopted by Congress on the 31st ultimo, were brought to our notice. These amendments provide that neither slavery, nor involuntary servitude, except for crime, should exist within the United States or any place within their jurisdiction, and that Congress should have the power to enforce this amendment by appropriate legislation.

Of all the correspondence that preceded the conference herein mentioned and leading to the same you have heretofore been informed.

Very respectfully, your obedient servants,
ALEX. H. STEPHENS,
R. M. T. HUNTER,
J. A. CAMPBELL.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1865.

THE GUARANTIES OF PEACE.

THE anxiety which pervaded the public mind as to the possible results of what were called the Peace Movements has happily passed away. We did not share in it to any considerable extent, because we had confidence in the honesty and patriotism of the President. And, if we had not, we should have trusted to his common sense and self-interest. That he could consent to terms inconsistent with his Proclamation and Message was simply impossible. His worst enemies have never considered him a fool, and a fool he must indeed have been to consent to blacken his name with perdurable infamy by an attempt to win back the slaveholders by basely breaking faith with their slaves and surrendering them to their tender mercies. We did think it possible that the practiced cunning of the Rebel Commissioners might offer him terms which they knew he would reject, so as to shift the blame of the continuance of the war from their shoulders upon his. And we rather wonder that they did not. A professed willingness to return to the Union on condition of Universal Amnesty, assumption of a portion of the debt, and the leaving of the Slave Question just where it was at that moment, would have breathed new life into the moribund Copperheadism at the North and given a new energy to the agitation against the President upon his refusal to treat on such terms. He would have refused, of course, and he would have been sustained by the Nation, but the enemy would have had a plausible Cry with which to excite fresh disaffection and opposition to the government. But the Rebels have set all that at rest. They were at least true to their treason and would take nothing short of their Independence as the basis of negotiation. Their purpose, doubtless, was to inspire their own staggering revolt with fresh vitality, by obtaining materials to prove the unrelenting hostility of the President and the country to their demands, and that there was no road to the peace they wish excepting through victory. The Conference has had this effect on both sides at least. Each knows that there is no hope of the other's yielding the main issue of the war. Either the reduction of the rebels or the recognition of their nationality must be the end of the whole matter. As it has resulted in this distinct understanding, we think that no loyal man can regret the interview of the President with the rebel envoys. Perhaps it was not strictly according to etiquette, but he is a man who does not permit punctilios to stand in the way of substantial advantages. And as substantial advantages have come out of the colloquy, he is fairly entitled to the credit of them and to whatever increased confidence in his firmness and discretion may grow out of them.

The way to a permanent and prosperous peace, then, now lies through victory, and the wise and proper manipulation and rearrangement of the elements which are set loose from their old conditions by the war. The army has the brunt of the battle to bear, but we who follow in the train of the army have also much to do to perfect the peaceable fruits which battle may bring forth. Victory is the essential preliminary of such a peace as alone can make amends for the cost of such a war. A war extending for back behind Sumter and marking with its battle-fields our whole National history. A war of Slaveholders against Slaves, in which we were made the allies of the stronger party and their political vassals at the same time. Our vassalage was broken by the mad attack on Sumter, and slavery was doomed at the same moment. We can have no peace worth the name as long as slavery has even a name to live, and the slaves can have no assured freedom until we have secured to them intelligence, fair play, and political rights. While Grant and Sherman are doing the pioneer work in this war for the rights of a nation, it is our business to see to it that it is not robbed of its substantial results to all of us, black and white alike. To this end, we are to do all that in us lies to procure the speediest possible disposition of the Slavery question by the ratification of the Constitutional Amendment by the State Legislatures. The complaints of Davis and his men of this measure, and their denunciations of it, show how radical it is in their eyes, and how fatal to all the hopes that lured them to the destruction on the brink of which they stand. That secured, as it is sure to be, and while it is securing, we must be instant in season, and, if such a thing were possible, out of season, too, in preparing the freedmen—not for freedom but—for the best use and highest enjoyment of freedom. For freedom there can be no preparation excepting freedom itself; but for the due understanding of what it is and the responsibilities and duties it imposes, there is room enough for education. The white race owes it to the black, not merely to give them the possession and control of themselves, but to make amends to them for that long consent to their degradation which stands in the way of their turning this new blessing to its fullest account.

With the readiness of adaptation to circumstances which is one of the fruits of free society, the perception of this necessity at once produced the attempt to provide for it. The people of the North, as soon as they saw that freedom to the slaves was an inevitable incident of the war, set about providing for this occasion as well as for any arising from the recruitment of the armies or the management of the hospitals. Men and women were found, in no insignificant number and of admirable qualifications, to give themselves to the education of the newly emancipated blacks and to the superintendence and organization of their labor. In the presence of intelligent supervision almost every bugbear that had been conjured up by the old spirit and prejudices of slavery disappeared. The blacks were found docile, industrious, frugal, orderly, with all the *substratum* of character which goes to the making of good citizens. And this not merely in the Sea Islands and on the lovely plantations along the Mississippi, but in Washington and Baltimore, where every temptation existed to law-breaking that could assail the same order of whites. Yet it appears from an interesting letter of Judge Bond in the *Freedmen's Bulletin*, that out of 840 paupers in the Baltimore Alms-house, there are but 63 black men and 104 black women. In the City Jail, for small misdemeanors, out of forty-two inmates, there were but *one* black man and *one* black woman. Of all the arrests during the week ending Jan. 21, out of eighty-eight committals, only nine were of colored persons. Everywhere that a tolerably fair chance has been given them the colored people have not only shown themselves capable of supporting themselves and laying something up for a rainy day, but they have set an excellent example to their white neighbors in the particulars of sobriety, good order, and freedom from serious crimes. And their eagerness for instruction, not only for their children but for themselves, is something truly remarkable. Of this class is to consist in a large proportion the laboring population of the South. It is for the interest of all of us, almost as much as for their own, that they should have whatever assistance our more fortunate circumstances can afford them in the way of teaching, advice, example and assistance. For this end, the *Freedmen's Aid Associations* have gathered themselves in all our principal cities and ramified themselves all over the free States. We have drawn the attention of our readers before to this most important matter, and shall not cease to urge it upon them as occasion arises. And occasion is always present. We rejoice to see that a bill establishing a Freedmen's Bureau at Washington has been reported, and is likely to become a law. It is eminently the duty of the nation to identify itself with this great political, politico-economical, moral and religious work. It is a work not safe, no more than honorable, to neglect. But the establishment and the best management of such a Department will not supersede the necessity of the Voluntary Societies, of which it would be, in a sort, the representative organ. The eyes of all who feel the importance of this work being well done should be kept constantly open to see that offences do not come, or, if they do, that it shall be woe to him by whom they come.

The existence of an intelligent, industrious, moral population at the South is the main condition of a permanent and prosperous peace. Without intelligence, industry, self-respect and respect for others, there can be no remodelling of the vicious elements of the old state into the new from which we hope so much. Even the political franchise, which we should insist upon as the equal right of all citizens, black or white, would be but an empty boon if virtue and knowledge be lacking to inform it with its fullness of power. It is a two-edged sword which demands skill and sense in the managing, that it be an instrument of self-defence only and not of self-offence. Now, however, is the time to demand the investiture of the newly created citizens with this highest privilege of citizenship. As with freedom, so with political power, the only way to learn how to use it is to possess it. No specious arguments should be listened to proving that the power should not be given until the intelligence was ascertained. Whatever condition of this nature is made applicable to whites as well as to blacks we may well consent to; but to no distinction against one race in favor of the other. That equal political rights would in time be won, or extorted, by the negroes, if withheld at first, we hold to be certain. But the true statesmanship is to avoid all such occasions of ill-blood or of violence by the simple preventive of absolute justice at the outset of the new order of things. It is easier to obtain it now than at any future time. Let no means be left untried and no influences neglected to secure this simple political righteousness at the beginning. Then we shall be sure of a loyal population in the rebel States, who, having shown themselves competent to vindicate their liberties by the bayonet, may be trusted with the charge of them at the polls. These are the paths of a true peace, beginning in different directions but all converging to one end, Victory in the field, Ratification of the Amendment, Education and Intelligence for the freedmen, and the guaranty of their rights by securing to them possession of arms and of the ballot.

A CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION.

THE question whether the Anti-Slavery Amendment proposed by Congress will become a part of the Constitution by the ratification of three fourths of the States now acknowledging allegiance to the National government and taking part in its administration, or will, on the contrary, require ratification by three-fourths of *all* the States, including those in rebellion, is exciting attention and discussion in various quarters. The Radical papers are generally inclined to follow the lead of Mr. Sumner in maintaining the doctrine that the power of amending the Constitution inheres, unimpaired by the rebellion, in the loyal States alone, while the Conservative Republican journals unite with the Copperheads in denouncing this doctrine as unconstitutional and revolutionary. Unquestionably it is desirable, if possible, to place the ratification beyond doubt or cavil by the action of three-fourths of *all* the States; but as the effort to secure this result may possibly not succeed for a considerable time to come, the friends of freedom should be prepared to pass judgment intelligently upon the question whether ratification by three-fourths of the loyal States will not satisfy the requirements of the Constitution. To aid our readers in forming their opinions upon this question, we print the resolutions of Mr. Sumner, which remain to be considered by Congress:

Concurrent resolutions declaring the rule in ascertaining the three-fourths of the several States in the ratification of a constitutional amendment.

Whereas Congress, by a vote of two-thirds of both houses, has proposed an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting slavery throughout the United States, which, according to the existing requirement of the Constitution, will be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States; and whereas, in the present condition of the country, with certain States in arms against the national government, it becomes necessary to determine what number of States constitutes the three-fourths required by the Constitution; therefore,

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the rule followed in ascertaining the *two-thirds of both houses* proposing the amendment to the Constitution should be followed in ascertaining the *three-fourths of the several States* ratifying the amendment; that, as in the first case, the two-thirds are founded on the simple fact of representation in the two houses, so in the second case, the three-fourths must be founded on the simple fact of representation in the government of the country, and the support thereof, and that any other rule establishes one basis for the proposition of the amendment and another for its ratification, placing one on a simple fact and the other on a claim of right, while it also recognizes the power of rebels in arms to interpose a veto upon the national government in one of its highest functions.

Resolved, That all acts, executive and legislative, in pursuance of the Constitution, and all treaties made under the authority of the United States, are valid to all intents and purposes throughout the United States, although certain rebel States fail to participate therein; and that the same rule is equally applicable to an amendment of the Constitution.

Resolved, That the amendment of the Constitution, prohibiting slavery throughout the United States, will be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of the Constitution whenever ratified by three-fourths of the States *de facto* exercising the powers and prerogatives of the United States under the Constitution thereof.

Resolved, That any other rule, requiring the participation of the rebel States, while illogical and unreasonable, is dangerous in its consequences, inasmuch as all recent Presidential proclamations, including that of emancipation, also all recent acts of Congress, including those creating the national debt and establishing a national currency; and also all recent treaties, including the treaty with Great Britain for the extinction of the slave trade, have been made, enacted, or ratified respectively without any participation of the rebel States.

Resolved, That any other rule must tend to postpone the great day when the prohibition of slavery will be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution of the United States; but the rule herewith declared will assure the immediate ratification of the prohibition and the consummation of the national desires.

The doctrine of these resolutions, if not self-evident, must commend itself, we think, to the common sense of the unprejudiced reader as irrefutable. The *Times* of this city, however, asks with a startled air, "Is the Union destroyed?" and then goes on to describe what it considers the logical effect of refusing to count as *States* within the Union the political communities or bodies politic which have not only destroyed all organic governmental relations therewith, but are even in open rebellion against its authority:

"These (Mr. Sumner's) resolutions, if adopted, will recognize as complete the dissolution of the Union..... The decision of this matter turns wholly on the question, *How many States constitute the Union?* And this depends on the question whether the States, some of whose people are in rebellion, are in the Union or not. If they are not, then Mr. Sumner's resolutions are just and sound; if they are, they are unsound, and announce an unconstitutional doctrine. Mr. Sumner assumes that the rebel States are out of the Union. In other words, he assumes that the Union is actually divided; that the United States, as a nation, has ceased to exist, and has given place to two nations, with two governments, each exercising authority over a distinct and separate territory. This is the principle actually involved and asserted in his resolution. It has been indirectly assumed in various propositions already submitted to Congress, and in some which have been adopted by that body. But in these resolutions it is distinctly and clearly set forth—so distinctly and so clearly that it will be very difficult, and, we trust, impossible, to conceal from the country the real nature of the proposition submitted to the action of Congress."

As we understand the case, it is not Mr. Sumner's doctrine so much as that of the *Times* itself which involves the idea that the Union is destroyed. According to Mr. Sumner, "the United States, as a nation," in spite of the rebellion, still exists, with all its constitutional powers and functions unimpaired; while, according to the *Times*, it is, if not utterly destroyed, so paralyzed by treason that it must *ask leave of traitors in arms to amend its own Constitution!*

We may admit that States can secede from the Union *de facto*, and yet consistently deny that they can do so rightfully and constitutionally; just as we may admit that our pocket-book is in the hands of a thief, and yet consistently hold that it is not his but ours. There is no harm in admitting, as there certainly is no use in denying, that certain States have, *as a matter of fact*, though in violation of the Constitution and of their own most solemn obligations, seceded from the Union. "The United States, as a nation," with constitutional powers unimpaired, is still maintaining the government, and fighting to compel the seceders to return. The rebel States, *as such*, are *de facto* not in the Union, but out of it, and the question whether they shall stay out or come back is to be decided by the sword. The United States, by the terms of the Constitution, claims the allegiance of every rebel and asserts its rightful jurisdiction over every square inch of Southern soil; and if it conquers, it will have the right to reconstruct the States in its own way and upon its own conditions. To deny this is virtually to affirm that the nation itself is destroyed or paralyzed by treason.

We hold that the rebels have not destroyed the nation, nor impaired its constitutional rights or powers; regarded as *States*, once a component part of the Union, they have simply *destroyed themselves*. As States or bodies politic they have had no organic relations whatever with the Union for the last four years, but have been in open rebellion against its authority; *as States*, therefore, they have no place in the national family, and no right to a voice in its affairs. The rights they once possessed—including that of a voice in amending the Constitution—are no longer theirs, being forfeited by treason.

In saying this we neither admit nor imply the constitutionality or validity of the acts of secession. In the light of the Constitution those acts are null and void. As against the Union, the people of the South have no rights that the loyal States are bound to respect; but to deny that as bodies politic, called States, they are for the present out of the Union, is to fly in the face of facts palpable as mountains. "Some of the people" of the Southern States, says the *Times*, "are in rebellion"; thereby implying that the *States* themselves, as such, are not to be so accounted. But it is an undeniable fact that the States, in their organized capacity, and through their regular governmental machinery, passed the acts of secession and organized the rebellion. How can States, constituting *de facto* a Confederacy in rebellion against the Union, be at the same time component parts of that Union, with constitutional rights unimpaired? The act of a minor son who breaks away from his father's rule, carrying with him the family plate, has no moral validity as against his father's claim upon him for obedience; but he is none the less out of the family for all that, and while persisting in his rebellion has no rights as a member of the household.

If, as the *Times* contends, the rebellious States are now in the Union, with constitutional rights unimpaired, what is the meaning of all the talk, in Congress and among the people, about the way of *reconstructing* those States when the rebellion shall be put down? We might go further and ask, if the Southern States are in the Union, and in their proper constitutional relations therewith, why are we fighting them?

THE NEW YORK OBSERVER

WE opened the New Yrok *Observer* of last week with more than usual interest, to read what its editors might have to say upon the adoption by Congress of the Amendment to the Constitution abolishing and forever prohibiting slavery. To our surprise, we found in it not a single word of comment, *pro* or *con*, upon the great event which has so thrilled the hearts of the Christian and patriotic people of this country, and which seems likely to lead directly to the deliverance of the land from its direst shame and curse. The event is recorded in the most perfunctory way, as if it were of no particular importance and awakened in the mind of the editor no feeling of exultation or even of pleasure. We were, we confess, disappointed, for we had hoped that the *Observer*, in spite of its long continued and inveterate hostility to the anti slavery movement, would give an earnest support to the Amendment, and thus help to secure its ratification in New-Jersey and Kentucky, where Old School Presbyterianism is a power that may perhaps turn the scale in favor of liberty or slavery for a whole nation. The habit of apologizing for slavery and of supporting the degrading and guilty compromises which led directly and naturally to the rebellion—a habit indulged for more than thirty years—has become so inveterate with the *Observer* that it has no heart now to rejoice in the prospect of emancipation and no disposition to aid in the work!

For more than thirty years, as we have said, the *Observer* has been the constant apologist of a system which makes marriage a farce and has filled the South with pollution as deep as that of Sodom; but in spite of all this, it has the effrontery to put itself forward as the special champion of the sacredness and permanence of the marriage institution, and in the very number to which we looked in vain for one word of rejoicing over the prospective downfall of slavery we find it solemnly arraigning a distinguished Orthodox lady, and two of its Orthodox contemporaries (the *Evangelist* and *Christian Intelligencer*) for laxity of sentiment respecting divorce! The system which tears wives and husbands from each other's arms and compels them to form new relations for the pleasure and profit of their owners, excites no feeling of indignation in the *Observer*; but when a Christian woman claims for the wife a right to forsake the bed and board of a man who makes her life wretched by oppression or vice, it lifts its hands in holy horror, as if the very foundations of society were shaken!

A BLACK MINISTER IN THE CAPITOL.

[Extract of a letter from a friend in Washington.]

Sunday, Feb. 12.—The Rev. Henry H. Garnet, D.D., formerly of New York, now Pastor of the Colored Presbyterian Church in Washington, preached in the Capitol to-day, by invitation from the Chaplain of the House of Representatives (Rev. W. H. Channing), to a large audience. The excellent choir of Mr. Garnet's Church also took part in the services. The congregation was about one-third colored. The discourse was on slavery, and was of rare eloquence. It was, as were all the services, listened to with the utmost attention and respect.

I don't expect to see a happier day until Peace is declared than this, when a black man and a black choir conducted the religious services in the Capitol! And without the slightest demonstration of dissent from any one yet. Mr. Channing advised Speaker Colfax of his intention to invite a black man—and, all honor to an Indianian, he approved it! I presume your "Avon" will write on the subject, so I have merely stated the facts.

DR. CHANNING'S WORK ON SLAVERY has been translated into Spanish, and the translation printed in this city, with the title of "La Esclavitud, por William Ellery Channing, Doctor on Teologia." The translator, who we understand is Señor Francisco de P. Suarez, in a note addressed to the reader, observes that his object is to render a great service to his country, at the same time that he introduces to its knowledge one of the most virtuous and illustrious men whom America has produced. "Happy shall we be," he exclaims, "if this pale reflex shall cause to shine upon the Cuban population, even to its humblest classes, the divine rays which beam from the pages of the original. A thousand times happy, if the doctrines maintained with such energy by the illustrious American divine shall cause to germinate in it the holy tree of liberty, and if, thanks to them, the present generation shall not go down to the grave without gathering the full fruits of this tree of blessing." We infer that the translator is a Cuban philanthropist, who desires that his country may be delivered as ours has been from the curse of slavery. The harmonious and often majestic periods of Channing sound well in a Castilian dress.—*Eve. Post.*

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 12, 1865.

THE President's Message respecting the Peace Conference in Hampton Roads is in, and by this time has been carefully read by the entire country. I presume that it has made about the same impression upon Republicans at a distance that it made upon Republicans in Congress.

Until yesterday the President was very generally condemned in Republican circles here for having anything to do with the rebel Commissioners. The message has raised him in the estimation of friends and enemies. Mr. Stevens of Pennsylvania, who was among those who condemned the Blair attempt at negotiations, took particular pains to characterize the conduct of the President as "masterly." He did this in the House in reply to a very dirty speech from James Brooks. This judgment of Mr. Stevens, I think, will be also the judgment of all candid and intelligent persons throughout the country. The President has not merely stood firmly by his principles, but he exhibited admirable diplomatic qualities. The country can trust him implicitly hereafter. Mr. Seward's letter to Charles Francis Adams is a little more hopeful than the President's Message, but the two documents have evidently had a marked effect upon the people of the country. They do not show that peace is to be obtained by negotiations, but they do show that the leading men of the South are fully conscious of its military condition and are casting about them to see if they can in any way avert their fate.

The War is to go on. That is very certain. Those persons who imagine that the war is at an end, or will end within two or three months, are wofully mistaken. It is not unlikely that the "back bone of the rebellion" will be broken within three months, but the war will probably linger along for some time after, unless the leaders have the sense to cast themselves at once upon the mercy of the President. He alone can pardon, and it is out of the power of Congress to limit his pardoning power. Jeff. Davis announces in his Richmond speech that he will die a hundred times before submitting to the "Lincoln government," yet, unless old Mr. Blair tells very incorrect stories, Davis did not talk in any such defiant manner *to him*, however boldly he may spread his wings before a Richmond audience.

I am told that when the President and Mr. Seward sat down with Messrs. Stephens, Hunter and Campbell, some rather interesting conversation ensued. For instance, Mr. Stephens asked if the object of the President could not be attained "by a roundabout method" (to use his very words), and that was by our recognizing the Confederacy with an understanding that a Convention of the States should afterwards assemble to reconstruct "the Union." Of course Mr. Seward and Mr. Lincoln were not to be caught with such chaff. It is true, I think, that they had some hopes when they returned to Washington that Jeff. Davis might think it wise to ask for another Conference. They do not think so now. Yet the elder Blair contends that his mission was successful to a certain extent. He thinks the meeting of the Commissioners has strengthened the position of the Administration before the people. This is extremely doubtful. The Opposition newspapers are already contending that the rebel Commissioners did not insist upon the independence of the South, and some of their prominent orators in Congress assert that a "liberal" offer on the slavery question would bring them back into the Union. Fernando Wood, in his "war speech" the other day, took the ground that if the rebel leaders insisted upon their independence, then he was for forcing them to submit to the Constitution and laws. I expect to see him back again among his peace friends on the plea that Mr. Lincoln did not offer them "liberal terms."

Gen. Grant was upon the floor of the House yesterday, and the desire to shake hands with him was so great that a short recess was taken. After that was done, Gen. Schenck moved that the Lieutenant General be received formally by the House, which was accordingly done. The General ascended to the Speaker's Chair and bowed to the cheering crowds of people, and then, blushing like a girl of sixteen, he hastily descended the steps and got away from his ardent and admiring friends. Gen. Grant wears well, and it is a singular fact that he is popular with men of both parties. The Opposition members crowded round him with great eagerness, and he first went over to that side of the House in company with Mr. Odell. He is also very popular with the Republicans. Gen. Sherman is a great favorite with the Democrats, they having got the idea that he is not so decidedly anti-slavery in his sentiments as Grant is. They are afraid, however, to commit themselves too unconditionally, lest Sherman should take positive ground in favor of the abolition of slavery. If Gen. Jeff. C. Davis were only a *great* general, these politicians would have a leader ready made. The moment the newspapers contained the statement (I hope it was incorrect) that Gen. Davis had turned back a large number of negro refugees to the tender mercies of the Georgia-planters, that moment the great "Democratic heart" warmed towards him, and the Opposition leaders were watching to see if Gen. Sherman was not responsible for the alleged cruelty.

A colored clergyman—Rev. Mr. Garnet—preached this morning in the Hall of Representatives. Mr. Channing introduced him to his audience. Mr. Sumner had the honor of introducing the first colored lawyer to the Supreme Court; Mr. Baldwin of Mass. introduced the first colored man upon the floor of the House while it was in session; and Mr. Channing invites the first colored man in Washington to preach to a white audience.

The House has passed the bill creating a Freedman's Bureau, but by only two majority. I am very glad that it passed. Parties have been at work nearly all Winter here to defeat any bill which did not give the control of the Freedmen to the War Department. They have been really working to secure the superintendence of the Freedmen to an officer who has the favor of Secretary Stanton: These selfish individuals are even now laboring to defeat the bill in the Senate. They will hardly succeed. The Senators will rely upon the judgment of a man like Mr. Sumner rather than upon the representations of outside interested parties. AVON.

MR. BEECHER ON NEGRO SUFFRAGE.—According to an announcement in the morning, Rev. Henry Ward Beecher devoted last Sunday evening at Plymouth Church to a consideration of the right of the colored man to equal citizenship in this republic. He claimed for him the elective franchise in the spirit of our democratic principles which declare the brotherhood of the human race; he claimed it for him as the natural right of his manhood—not, therefore, to be accorded or withheld by us at discretion, but imposing upon us the responsibility of answering why we keep it from him; next, because he has earned it—by his tender care and guidance of our poor boys escaping from the horrors of Confederate prison-hells, his uniform, unexceptional fidelity to the national cause, his attachment to the Union when the rest of the Southern population rushed *en masse* into treason, and lastly by his valor upon the battle-field, in the uniform of his country; then, because he was fit for the ballot, as had been manifested in many ways, and conspicuously in a recent conference at Savannah between Secretary Stanton, Gen. Sherman, and twenty ministers and class-leaders, of which Mr. Beecher then read a verbatim report (which we print in another place). These positions were severally discussed and fortified with great power. Incidentally, it became necessary to allude to the question of woman's rights, upon which Mr. Beecher briefly but thoroughly and unequivocally expressed himself in favor of extending the franchise to the female sex, for the purification of politics and the humanizing of legislation. He also advocated the most untrammelled suffrage, as being, though fraught with some perils, safer in the long run than to have a voiceless stratum of society which was not permitted to protect itself. It is the base and not the pinnacle of society which needs the amplest defence, and the exercise of the suffrage is the best and only training for the possession of that privilege. We understand that the entire discourse will appear in the *Independent* of next week.

THE BLACK LAWS OF ILLINOIS have been blotted from the statute book at last. The Chicago *Journal* says:

"Every dictate of humanity and decency urged the repeal of these disgraceful laws, and the Legislature has the thanks of all good and right-thinking men for having thus voted to wipe them out forever. The ratification of the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery in the United States, and the repeal of the Black Laws of Illinois, are a good week's work for our Legislature, and the enlightened patriotism, morality and good sense of our people and of Christendom will commend them."

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, Feb. 14th, 1865.

LAST evening, a meeting of the colored people of Boston was held at the Tremont Temple, to celebrate the passage of the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery.

Rev. Mr. White of Boston read from Exodus the thanksgiving song of Moses after the deliverance of the Hebrews from the pursuit of the Egyptian slaveholders. Rev. Mr. Grimes then offered a prayer of thanksgiving for God's recent favors to the race so long held in bondage in this country.

Mr. William Wells Brown, the President of the meeting, made a few introductory remarks, rejoicing in the purgation of the Constitution and the country from the stain of slavery, after which the song "Viva l'America" was sung by Prof. Stewart.

The Chairman then introduced Rev. J. D. Fulton of Boston, who made a forcible presentation of some specimens of previous pro-slavery legislation in Congress, in contrast with the new Amendment to the Constitution. He paid a tribute of admiration and respect to the anti-slavery leaders, William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips, gave his voice for the method of deciding the Constitutional Amendment advocated by Charles Sumner, and urged the duty of all white Americans to give active sympathy and aid to the Southern freedmen.

The Chairman reminded his colored brethren that a great step forward had just been made in their cause in Washington, by the admission of a colored lawyer, on motion of Hon. Charles Sumner, to plead in the Supreme Court of the United States. He had great pleasure in introducing to the audience the gentleman thus honorably distinguished, John S. Rock, Esq., of Boston.

Mr. Rock, in a few well chosen words, expressed the thanks of himself and his race to the Abolitionists, who by unceasing and assiduous labor have wrought out so much of their deliverance as has yet been effected. He rejoiced that prejudice against color had at last been Chased from the rules and customs of the Supreme Court of the United States. He rejoiced in the probable success of the Constitutional Amendment, and in other particulars in which the cause of his people is now making progress. But he should never be *satisfied* until his race were in possession of *all* their rights.

The next speaker was Rev. William R. Alger. He felt compelled to say that his satisfaction in the passage of the Constitutional Amendment was deeply alloyed by the slowness with which the nation has come forward to a reform so long demanded by obvious duty. Our chief work remaining is to overcome the unhallowed prejudice which separates black men from white men in this country. This unjust separation has been enforced by our religious code, our legal code, and our social code, and all these must be brought more into conformity with justice and righteousness. The most unchristian thing possible is to scorn and hate those inferior to us, the "little ones" for whom Christ died. A vast work of reform yet remains for us to accomplish.

The Chairman then introduced Wendell Phillips to the meeting. He thought it fitting that, at this stage of our progress, we should thank God and take courage. The great national act we have met to celebrate is, in a certain sense, the end of the war. It is the first genuine Northern answer to the gun fired at Sumter. There the freedom of the North found a voice, and said—I accept the challenge. In that act liberty met slavery in direct conflict. Not amounting to an act of national justice, it is yet an act of national wisdom. After vainly trying all other weapons, the reluctant North laid her hands on justice, as the only means left of gaining a needed advantage. Rejoicing in so much as has been done, let us beware of self-satisfied exultation. We have shut our eyes to the meaning of this struggle, and refused to recognize alike our past sin and our present duty.

Mr. Phillips gave a warm tribute of praise to the heroism of the colored soldiers, and the noble conduct of the colored people in the struggle through which they are now passing. In the scale in which our nation is now weighed, the only pure and refined gold is the black element. He gave a hearty and impressive tribute to the nobleness of the 54th and 55th Massachusetts Regiments, and, referring to the administrations of Gens. Butler and Banks in New Orleans, spoke of the "ingenious malice" which the latter had shown towards the colored people. Like his friend Mr. Rock, he must say that he should be *satisfied* only when the full rights of the black race were conceded to them. He viewed the ballot in the hands of our black population not only as their right, but as the warrant for the abolition of slavery in Cuba and Brazil, and for the elevation of the negro race all over the world.

William Lloyd Garrison was the next speaker. He commenced by saying that, having very recently in the Music Hall, expressed his feelings in view of the Constitutional Amendment, he should not repeat those sentiments here. He depicted vividly the contrast in our country between what is and what has been. The United States Constitution has always been interpreted, and understood, and enforced, in the interest of the worst of tyrannies; and our national power has been used to thrust the trembling fugitive back into slavery. Now, personal freedom is decreed for every human being. In view of this immense contrast, he thought our national Administration ought not to be taunted with backwardness in the cause of the colored people. He did not know, he did not care to inquire, the motives of members of Congress in their late action. One thing he knew, that they have now turned against the sin of oppression, and that the rebels consider that act as most damaging to the rebel cause.

The Constitutional Amendment is redemption, is salvation. There is no doubt about the final result. And yet a paper in this city, claiming to be anti-slavery, has thought fit to describe it as an insignificant event. Such a judgment, he thought, showed a disposition to find fault, and a sad want of appreciation of the significance of the time.

Mr. Garrison had been pained, he said, to hear the injurious imputation cast by his friend Mr. Phillips upon Gen. Banks. He had carefully examined the course of administration of that officer, and thought him the friend, benefactor and liberator of the colored people of Louisiana. In regard to one particular charge that had repeatedly been made against him, that of refusing to a colored regiment which had assisted in the capture of Port Hudson, the right to inscribe the name of that place on its banner, he had written to Gen. Banks himself for information, and had received a denial of the truth of the statement, which he would read to the audience.

Mr. Garrison then read two brief letters, one from Gen. Banks and the other from Gen. Irwin, giving a reply to his inquiries, and thought Mr. Phillips must now be satisfied that this charge, at least, was erroneous.

Mr. Phillips (having asked and received permission for a word of comment) desired the audience to take notice that Gen. Irwin's letter was merely negative evidence, saying that he had not been aware of any such refusal as the one alleged. The letter of Gen. Banks indeed contained a positive denial, but he did not consider him an honest or trustworthy witness. He must wait for the testimony of some credible person before discrediting the evidence heretofore given of the truth of the charge in question.

Mr. Garrison thought it unreasonable and unjust to withhold belief from the positive assertion of Gen. Banks, but wished to see opposing evidence, if any existed, and thought Mr. Phillips bound to produce it.

Proceeding with his speech Mr. Garrison feared that his colored friends were in danger of forming hasty and unkind judgments in regard to the concession of their rights. He believed that the people of the North have made up their minds to do justice. He thought that unjust and cruel charges had been made against Gen. Sherman for his recent order. He believed that movement to be a wise one, and to have been made in a kind spirit. He felt sure that the temporary exclusion of white people from the region allotted to the blacks was really intended for the protection and benefit of the freedmen.

Everything, in his view, looked hopeful. Only yesterday, a colored clergyman preached for the first time in the House of Representatives at Washington, giving to his large and fashionable audience a thoroughly anti-slavery sermon, and being listened to with marked attention. Surely the signs of the times are bright and cheering.

The applause given to the last two speakers showed a division of opinion among the audience, a considerable portion of it favoring each of the diverse views expressed.

The Chairman then announced Hon. George Thompson as the last speaker of the evening. Mr. Thompson spoke very briefly, excusing himself by the lateness of the hour (half-past ten) from making any extended remarks. The meeting was then closed by singing the doxology. NORTH.

HOME FOR AGED AND INFIRM COLORED PERSONS, 340 South Front st., Phila.

THIS property having been purchased, all friendly to the object are solicited to contribute to its funds to enable the managers to pay off the mortgage and commence free of debt.

Furniture, dry goods, clothing, groceries and other articles needed will be thankfully received.

Persons in the country are requested to send in vegetables and provisions for the use of the inmates.

The following were chosen at the annual meeting held 1 mo. 12th.

President—Dillwyn Parrish.
Vice President—Stephen Smith.
Secretary—Marcellus Balderston.
Treasurer—Samuel R. Shipley, 1623 Filbert st.
Managers—Wm. J. Alston, Israel H. Johnson, Maurice Hall, Wm. Still, Jos. M. Truman, Jr., Henry Gorden, Abram Fields, Clayton Miller, Joshua Brown, Jacob C. White, Sr., Thomas Mather, Henry M. Laing, Sarah M. Douglass, Sarah Parrish, Helen Johnson, Rachel T. Jackson, Elizabeth Harris, Ann Laws, Grace Mapps, Priscilla H. Henszey, Mary Shaw, Catharine M. Shipley, Ann Jess.
Auditors—Alfred H. Love, J. C. White, Sr.
Counsellers—Edward Hopper, Lewis D. Vail.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT.—The following message from the President needs no explanation:

The Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

The joint resolution, entitled "A joint resolution declaring certain States not entitled to representation in the Electoral College," has been signed by the Executive, in deference to the view of Congress implied in its passage, and presented to me. In his own view, however, the two Houses of Congress, convened under the twelfth article of the Constitution, have complete power to exclude from counting all electoral votes deemed by them to be illegal, and it is not competent for the Executive to defeat or obstruct the power by a veto, as would be the case if his action were at all essential in the matter. He disclaims all right of the Executive to interfere in any way in the matter of canvassing or counting the electoral votes; and he also disclaims that by signing said resolution, he has expressed any opinion on the recitals of the preamble or any judgment of his own upon the subject of the resolution. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, Feb. 8, 1865.

THE NEGRO'S LOVE OF LIBERTY.—A New York correspondent of the Springfield *Republican*, writing about the Freedmen in the department of the South, says:

"Marvelous are the trials through which many of these refugees passed in order to obtain the great boon for which their poor, clouded souls panted, 'as the hart pants after the water brook.' The ingenuity and endurance of one negress deserves immortality; her song should be sung by Lowell or Whittier. This woman is the mother of twelve children, all of whom are equally precious to her, and all of whom she was determined should be free. Knowing that it would be impossible to carry more than one or two, and fearing to lose some of her young brood by the way, she tied together by their wrists the remaining ten, and followed Sherman's army, marching day and night, through all dangers and all weathers, until delivered out of this land of bondage. And such sublime courage emanates from a brute! 'Negroes are nothing but brutes on two legs,' said a wealthy New Yorker the other day. As he spake, he looked more like a brute than the blackest Congo ever kidnapped to this cruelty. One old woman said that, hearing of the army's approach, she rushed to her daughter, whom she begged to follow her. Fear prevented the daughter from listening to persuasion, when the frantic old woman snatched up her only grandchild, who was lying before the fire, and hurried out of the hut, hoping thus to lure the mother away; but either she did not venture or was lost in the multitude, as nothing more was seen of her. The poor little child thus rescued proves to be an idiot."

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.—In the Senate on the 9th a concurrent resolution was adopted, on motion of Mr. Trumbull, requesting the President of the United States to transmit to the Executives of the several States copies of the Article of Amendment proposed by Congress to be added to the Constitution respecting the extinction of slavery, to the end that if any of the States have not acted on it, they may proceed to do so; and to request the Executives of States that have acted to forward official notice of said action.

Twelve States have already ratified the Amendment in due form. They are Illinois, Maryland, Rhode Island, New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Michigan, Missouri, Maine, Virginia, Indiana.

The Legislature of Delaware, as every body expected, has refused to sanction the Amendment. The People of that State, at the next election, will, we trust, choose a Legislature of a different mind.

THE TERRITORIES ON THE ANTI-SLAVERY AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION.—Mr. Bennett of Colorado asked the unanimous consent of the House of Representatives, a few days since, to spread the following paper upon the Journal of that body:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, Feb. 1, 1865.

Representing Territories which must soon become States, as Delegates deprived of the inestimable privilege of voting in this House, and feeling a deep interest in the proposition to amend the Federal Constitution forever prohibiting slavery within the jurisdiction of the United States, demanded alike by the exigencies of the times, the voice of the loyal people, and by our efforts in the field to suppress a rebellion inaugurated and sustained for the purpose of perpetuating slavery, we cannot do less than state that the measure meets our unqualified approbation.

H. P. BENNETT, Colorado.
J. F. KINNEY, Utah.
S. G. DAILY, Nebraska.
CHARLES D. POSTON, Arizona.
J. B. S. TODD, Dacotah.
W. H. WALLACE, Idaho.
FRANCISCO PEREA, New Mexico.

ANNA E. DICKINSON spoke to a large and intelligent audience at the Cooper Institute on Tuesday evening. Her address was political—"A Glance at our Future." The *Tribune* says: "It was a masterly performance, and was listened to with marked attention by a very large, fashionable and appreciative audience. She bitterly denounced the recent peace conference, eulogized Gen. Butler as one of the first men of the age, and demanded that, with the boon of freedom, right of suffrage should be conferred upon the negro." Miss Dickinson will speak in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, next Tuesday evening, when her subject will be "A Plea for Labor." Mr. Beecher will preside.

THE PRESIDENT TO BE TRUSTED.—The Washington correspondent of the Springfield *Republican* says:

"I feared two weeks ago, that the Blairs and Mr. Seward might negotiate a dishonorable peace, but I am now satisfied that Mr. Lincoln has his hand upon the helm. He telegraphed to Mr. Seward the other day: 'Remember that the only terms are Union and submission to the laws.' Going down the Chesapeake bay he said to a friend: 'So long as I am President, no peace shall be made which does not save the Union and keep our promise to the slave!' I am no longer afraid that the President will make peace one moment too quick, for he will not abandon one of his principles for it. He said to a member of Congress the other day: 'Some of my friends in Congress act as if they were afraid to trust me with a dinner; yet I shall never compromise the principles upon which I was elected."

THE NATIONAL FREEDMEN'S RELIEF ASSOCIATION of the District of Columbia acknowledge the following contributions:

Michigan Freedmen's Commission,	$120 00
Thomas S. Williams, Auburndale, Mass.,	50 00
Mrs. (Senator) Wade of Ohio,	50 00
Armory Square Hospital (Dr. Bliss),	40 00
Dr. Henry Smith, Dover, N. H.,	10 00
Hon. John P. Hale,	10 00
Miss Susannah Warrington,	10 00

GEORGE E. BAKER, Treasurer.

Washington, Feb. 10, 1865.

REV. CALVIN FAIRBANKS.—We had the pleasure, a few day since, of taking by the hand this true-hearted friend of freedom, who, it will be remembered, was lately released from the Kentucky Penitentiary after an imprisonment of twelve years for helping slaves to obtain their liberty. He intends to write and publish as soon as possible a narative of his prison experiences, which will serve to illustrate the true spirit of slavery.

WENDELL PHILLIPS will speak in the Brooklyn Academy of Music next Wednesday evening—the anniversary of the birth of Washington. His subject will be "Our Country—our Whole Country."

CONDITION OF FREEDMEN IN AND AROUND WASHINGTON.—The following resolutions were introduced in the House on Monday by Mr. Ahley of Ohio and adopted:

Whereas, In consequence of the rebellion, and since the Proclamation of Emancipation, a large number of persons of color have been brought from the States of Maryland, Virginia, and other States, and left in and around the National Capital; and

Whereas, It is reported that many of them have died for want of food; and

Whereas, It is reported that from ten to twenty thousand are in want; and

Whereas, It is reported that hundreds are in the service of the United States, and fighting in defence of the government: therefore,

Resolved, That the Committee on Military Affairs inquire into the truth of said reports, and that the Committee report what action, if any, is necessary in the premises, with leave to report by bill or otherwise.

FREEDMEN'S BUREAU.—The bill reported by the Committee of Conference of the two Houses to establish in Washington a Bureau of Freedmen's Affairs, having passed the House by two majority, is now before the Senate, where its passage is confidently expected.

THE WAR DEPARTMENT.—The extreme suffering of the colored people in Washington during this inclement Winter, we are pleased to learn, has been greatly mitigated by the kindness and attention of the Secretary of War, his Assistant (C. A. Dana), and the Quartermaster-General (Meigs). Several hundred cords of wood, a thousand blankets, and a large amount of soldier's rations, have, by them, been put into the hands of Mrs. Griffing, Agent of the Freedmen's Association, for distribution. B.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

THE new position of the Army of the Potomac, achieved during the operations of Sunday, Monday and Tuesday (12th, 13th & 14th inst.), proves to be of greater importance than the public at first supposed. Our line has been extended on the extreme left in the direction of the Southside Railroad, a distance of four miles, and is being strongly fortified, and will be permanently held. The ground lost by a temporary repulse of a division of the Fifth Corps on Monday was all recovered on Tuesday, since which no serious fighting has been reported. Our total loss in killed, wounded and missing is reported at 1,180, of whom fully half are missing, mostly stragglers. The rebel loss was quite as great, and among their casualties was Maj. Gen. Pegram, of South Carolina, and Brig. Gen. Sorrell, of Georgia, both killed.

Advices from the West are to the effect that Gens. Thomas and Wilson, with an immense force of cavalry and mounted infantry, scarcely less than 40,000 strong, are now in motion for a grand campaign from the Tennessee River to the Gulf of Mexico, via Montgomery, Selma and Mobile. This vast expedition promises the most brilliant results, and will soon be heard from.

Gen. Grant was in Washington Saturday, and testified before the Committee on the conduct of the War in regard to the exchange of prisoners, in regard to which he said that the matter was now entirely in his hands, that he had made an arrangement for the exchange to go on man for man, until the entire number held by one side or the other, should be exhausted, and that the delivery of our men would now go on at the rate of three thousand or more per week, the Salisbury and Danville prisoners coming first.

The news from Gen. Sherman, though coming exclusively through rebel channels, is highly encouraging, and shows that he is making as rapid progress in his present advance as in his Georgia campaign. The Richmond papers of Monday announce that his army had crossed the Edisto River, which was the line held by Gen. Hardee, at last accounts, and which defended Branchville. The Richmond papers had previously admitted that if Sherman accomplished this, their troops must necessarily evacuate Branchville, which is undoubtedly in our possession by this time. The papers of the 13th also assert that a portion of Sherman's forces, probably his cavalry, are two thirds of the way from the Edisto to Columbia, an important point forming the junction of the Charlotte and South Carolina and the Greenville and Columbia Railroads, which connect with the railroads to Richmond. A large number of our prisoners, mostly officers, were confined at Columbia.

The Army and the Negroes.

"EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

GEN. SHERMAN TAKING ADVICE OF THE NEGROES.

REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE BETWEEN SECRETARY STANTON, GEN. SHERMAN AND THE COLORED PEOPLE OF SAVANNAH.

ON Sunday evening last, Rev. H. W. Beecher, in the course of an eloquent sermon on the Right of the Negro to Vote in common with white men, read the following report of a meeting recently held at Savannah between the Hon. Elwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, and Major-Gen. Sherman, on the one part, and a number of colored class-leaders, deacons and divines, on the other. The report was placed in Mr. Beecher's hands by the Secretary of War himself, who, during his recent visit to Gen. Sherman at Savannah, held, in conjunction with the General, the conference with these representatives of the colored population, in order to learn their views as to what they desired should be done in their behalf by the government. Mr. Beecher stated that the document was a verbatim phonographic report of the questions that were put and the answers elicited. It is a most remarkable paper:

Minutes of an Interview between the Colored Ministers and Church Officers at Savannah with the Secretary of War and Major Gen. Sherman.

HEADQUARTERS OF MAJ GEN. SHERMAN, CITY OF SAVANNAH, GA., Jan. 12, 1865—8 P. M.

On the evening of Thursday, the 12th day of January, 1865, the following persons of African descent met by appointment to hold an interview with Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, and Major-Gen. Sherman, to have a conference upon matters relating to the freedmen of the State of Georgia to wit:

One: William J. Campbell, aged 51 years, born in Savannah, slave until 1849, and then liberated by will of his mistress, Mrs. May Maxwell. For ten years pastor of the 1st Baptist Church of Savannah, numbering about 1,800 members. Average congregation, 1,900. The church property belonging to the congregation. Trustees white. Worth $18,000.

Two: John Cox, aged 58 years, born in Savannah; slave until 1849, when he bought his freedom for $1,100. Pastor of the 2d African Baptist Church. In the ministry fifteen years. Congregation 1 222 persons. Church property worth $10,000, belonging to the congregation.

Three: Ulysses L. Houston, aged 41 years, born in Grahamsville, S. C.; slave until the Union army entered Savannah. Owned by Moses Henderson, Savannah, and pastor of 3d African Baptist Church. Congregation numbering 400. Church property worth $5 000; belongs to congregation. In the ministry about eight years.

Four: William Bentley, aged 72 years, born in Savannah, slave until 25 years of age, when his master, John Waters, emancipated him by will. Pastor of Andrew's Chapel, Methodist Episcopal Church—only one of that denomination in Savannah; congregation numbering 360 members; church property worth about $20,000, and is owned by the congregation; been in the ministry about twenty years; a member of Georgia Conference.

Five: Charles Bradwell, aged 40 years, born in Liberty County, Ga.; slave until 1851; emancipated by will of his master, J. L. Bradwell. Local preacher in charge of the Methodist Episcopal congregation (Andrew's Chapel) in the absence of the minister; in the ministry 10 years.

Six: William Gaines, aged 41 years; born in Wills Co., Ga. Slave until the Union forces freed me. Owned by Robert Toombs, formerly United States Senator, and his brother, Gabriel Toombs; local preacher of the M. E. Church (Andrew's Chapel). In the ministry 16 years.

Seven: James Hill, aged 52 years; born in Bryan Co., Ga. Slave up to the time the Union army came in. Owned by H. F. Willings, of Savannah. In the ministry 16 years.

Eight: Glasgon Taylor, aged 72 years, born in Wilkes County, Ga. Slave until the Union army came. Owned by A. P. Wetter. Is a local preacher of the M. E. Church (Andrew's Chapel). In the ministry 35 years.

Nine: Garrison Frazier, aged 67 years, born in Granville County, N. C. Slave until eight years ago, when he bought himself and wife, paying $1 000 in gold and silver. Is an ordained minister in the Baptist Church, but, his health failing, he has now charge of no congregation. Has been in the ministry 35 years.

Ten: James Mills, aged 56 years, born in Savannah, free-born, and is a licensed preacher of the 1st Baptist Church. He has been eight years in the ministry.

Eleven: Abraham Burke, aged 48 years, born in Bryan County, Ga. Slave until 20 years ago, when he bought himself for $800. Has been in the ministry about 10 years.

Twelve: Arthur Wardell, aged 44 years, born in Liberty County, Ga. Slave until freed by the Union army. Owned by A. A. Solomons, Savannah, and is a licensed minister in the Baptist Church. Has been in the ministry 6 years.

Thirteen: Alexander Harris, aged 47 years, born in Savannah; free-born. Licensed minister of 3d African Baptist Church. Licensed about one month ago.

Fourteen: Andrew Neal, aged 61 years, born in Savannah. Slave until the Union army liberated him. Owned by Mr. Wm. Gibbons, and has been deacon in the 3d Baptist Church for ten years.

Fifteen: Jas. Porter, aged 39 years, born in Charleston, S. C.; free-born, his mother having purchased her freedom. Is lay-reader and President of the Board of Wardens and Vestry of St. Stephen's Protestant Episcopal Colored Church in Savannah. Has been in communion 9 years. The congregation numbers about 200 persons. The church property is worth about $10,000, and is owned by the congregation.

Sixteen: Adolphus Delmotte, aged 28 years, born in Savannah; free-born. Is a licensed minister of the Missionary Baptist Church of Milledgeville. Congregation numbering about 300 or 400 persons. Has been in the ministry about 2 years.

Seventeen: Jacob Godfrey, aged 57 years, born in Marion, S. C. Slave until the Union army freed me. Owned by James E. Godfrey—Methodist preacher now in the rebel army. Is a class-leader and steward of Andrew's Chapel since 1836.

Eighteen: John Johnson, aged 51 years, born in Bryan County, Ga. Slave up to the time the Union army came here. Owned by W. W. Lincoln of Savannah. Is class-leader and treasurer of Andrew's Chapel for 16 years.

Nineteen: Robert N. Taylor, aged 51 years, born in Wilkes Co., Ga. Slave to the time the Union army came. Was owned by Augustus P. Welter, Savannah, and is class-leader in Andrew's Chapel for 9 years.

Twenty: James Lynch, aged 26 years, born in Baltimore, Md.; free-born. Is presiding elder of the M. E. Church, and missionary to the Department of the South. Has been seven years in the ministry and two years in the South.

Garrison Frazier being chosen by the persons present to express their common sentiments upon the matters of inquiry, makes answers to inquiries as follows:

First—State what your understanding is in regard to the acts of Congress and President Lincoln's proclamation, touching the condition of the colored people of the rebel States.

Answer—So far as I understand President Lincoln's proclamation to the rebellious States, it is, that if they would lay down their arms and submit to the laws of the United States before the first of January, 1863, all should be well; but if they did not, then all the slaves in the rebel States should be free henceforth and forever. That is what I understood.

Second—State what you understand by slavery and the freedom that was to be given by the President's proclamation.

Answer—Slavery is, receiving by *irresistible power* the work of another man, and not by his *consent*. The freedom, as I understand it, promised by the proclamation, is taking us from under the yoke of bondage, and placing us where we could reap the fruit of our own labor, take care of ourselves and assist the government in maintaining our freedom.

Third—State in what manner you think you can take care of yourselves, and how can you best assist the government in maintaining your freedom.

Answer—The way we can best take care of ourselves is to have land, and turn it and till it by our own labor—that is, by the labor of the women and children and old men; and we can soon maintain ourselves and have something to spare. And to assist the government, the young men should enlist in the service of the government, and serve in such manner as they may be wanted. (The rebels told us that they piled them up and made batteries of them, and sold them to Cuba; but we don't believe that.) We want to be placed on land until we are able to buy it and make it our own.

Fourth—State in what manner you would rather live—whether scattered among the whites or in colonies by yourselves.

Answer—I would prefer to live by ourselves, for there is a prejudice against us in the South that will take years to get over; but I do not know that I can answer for my brethren. (Mr. Lynch says he thinks they should not be separated, but live together. All the other persons present, being questioned one by one, answer that they agree with Brother Frazier.)

Fifth—Do you think that there is intelligence enough among the slaves of the South to maintain themselves under the government of the United States and the equal protection of its laws, and maintain good and peaceable relations among yourselves and with your neighbors?

Answer—I think there is sufficient intelligence among us to do so.

Sixth—State what is the feeling of the black population of the South toward the government of the United States; what is the understanding in respect to the present war—its causes and object, and their disposition to aid either side. State fully your views.

Answer—I think you will find there are thousands that are willing to make any sacrifice to assist the government of the United States, while there are also many that are not willing to take up arms. I do not suppose there are a dozen men that are opposed to the government. I understand, as to the war, that the South is the aggressor. President Lincoln was elected President by a majority of the United States, which guarantied him the right of holding the office and exercising that right over the whole United States. The South, without knowing what he would do, rebelled. The war was commenced by the rebels before he came into office. The object of the war was not at first to give the slaves their freedom, but the sole object of the war was at first to bring the rebellious States back into the Union and their loyalty to the laws of the United States. Afterward, knowing the value set on the slaves by the rebels, the President thought that his proclamation would stimulate them to lay down their arms, reduce them to obedience, and help to bring back the rebel States; and their not doing so has now made the freedom of the slaves a part of the war. It is my opinion that there is not a man in this city that could be started to help the rebels one inch, for that would be suicide. There were two black men left with the rebels because they had taken an active part for the rebels, and thought something might befall them if they stayed behind, but there is not another man. If the prayers that have gone up for the Union army could be read out, you would not get through them these two weeks.

Seventh—State whether the sentiments you now express are those only of the colored people in the city; or do they extend to the colored population through the country? and what are your means of knowing the sentiments of those living in the country?

Answer—I think the sentiments are the same among the colored people of the State. My opinion is formed by personal communication in the course of my ministry, and also from the thousands that followed the Union army, leaving their homes and undergoing suffering. I did not think there would be so many; the number surpassed my expectation.

Eighth—If the rebel leaders were to arm the slaves, what would be its effect?

Answer—I think they would fight as long as they were before the bayonet, and just as soon as they could get away, they would desert, in my opinion.

Ninth—What, in your opinion, is the feeling of the colored people about enlisting and serving as soldiers in the United States? and what kind of military service do they prefer?

Answer—A large number have gone as soldiers to Port Royal to be drilled and put in the service; and I think there are thousands of the young men that would enlist. There is something about them that perhaps is wrong. They have suffered so long from the rebels that they want to shoulder the musket. Others want to go into the Quartermaster's or Commissary's service.

Tenth—Do you understand the mode of enlistments of colored persons in the rebel States by State agents under the Act of Congress? If yea, state what your understanding is.

Answer—My understanding is, that colored persons enlisted by State agents are enlisted as substitutes, and give credit to the States, and do not swell the army, because every black man enlisted by a State agent leaves a white man at home; and, also, that larger bounties are given or promised by State agents than are given by the States. The great object should be to push through this rebellion the shortest way, and there seems to be something wanting in the enlistment by State agents, for it don't strengthen the army, but takes one away for every colored man enlisted.

Eleventh—State what, in your opinion, is the best way to enlist colored men for soldiers.

Answer—I think, sir, that all compulsory operations should be put a stop to. The ministers would talk to them, and the young men would enlist. It is my opinion that it would be far better for the State agents to stay at home, and the enlistments to be made for the United States under the directions of Gen. Sherman.

In the absence of Gen. Sherman the following question was asked:

Twelfth—State what is the feeling of the colored people in regard to Gen. Sherman; and how far do they regard his sentiments and actions as friendly to their rights and interests, or otherwise?

Answer—We looked upon Gen. Sherman prior to his arrival as a man in the Providence of God specially set apart to accomplish this work, and we unanimously feel inexpressible gratitude to him, looking upon him as a man that should be honored for the faithful performance of his duty. Some of us called upon him immediately upon his arrival, and it is probable he would not meet the Secretary with more courtesy than he met us. His conduct and deportment toward us characterized him as a friend and a gentleman. We have confidence in Gen. Sherman, and think that what concerns us could not be under better hands. This is our opinion now from the short acquaintance and interest we have had. (Mr. Lynch states that with his limited acquaintance with Gen. Sherman, he is unwilling to express an opinion. All others present declare their agreement with Mr. Frazier about Gen. Sherman.)

Some conversation upon general subjects relating to Gen. Sherman's march then ensued, of which no note was taken.

WAR DEPT. ADJT.-GEN.'S OFFICE, WASHINGTON, Feb. 1, 1865.

I do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and faithful report of the questions and answers made by the colored ministers and church members of Savannah in my presence and hearing, at the chambers of Maj.-Gen. Sherman, on the evening of Thursday, Jan. 12, 1865. The questions of Gen. Sherman and the Secretary of War were reduced to writing and read to the persons present. The answers were made by the Rev. Garrison Frazier, who was selected by the other ministers and church members to answer for them. The answers were written down in his exact words, and read over to the others, who one by one expressed his concurrence or dissent as above set forth.

E. D. TOWNSEND, Asst.-Adjt.-Gen.

Mr. Beecher said that Secretary Stanton had remarked that it was the first time in the history of this nation when the representatives of this government had gone to these poor, debased people to ask them what they wanted for themselves. "What do you want for your own people?" was the question which had been put to them; and the speaker concluded that it was upon the basis of this conference that Gen. Sherman had framed his recent order, in relation to the freedmen of his department, which has been so severely criticized at the North, but for which, now that the facts are known, he should be still further honored and admired.

Mr. Beecher concluded by stating that Gen. Grant had been heard, in the presence of several distinguished officers, to give the opinion that, for picket and guard duty, the negroes made the best soldiers in the world. He had not tested them in the matter of endurance, the quality displayed by our troops in the terrible succession of battles, called the Battle of the Wilderness, but could otherwise answer for their military capabilities, and, on the whole he considered them equal to any soldiers in the world.

Special Notices.

FAIR FOR THE FREEDMEN.—A Fair with EVENING ENTERTAINMENTS, will be held a DODWORTH'S HALL, 806 Broadway, under the direction of an ASSOCIATION OF LADIES, commencing on Monday, the 27th of March, prox., and closing on Saturday evening of the same week. The funds that may be raised to be devoted to the founding of an Educational and Industrial Institution for the Orphans of the Freedmen.

☞ All friends of the elevation of the negro race are cordially invited to cooperate in this noble object. Contributions of money or articles suitable for the FAIR can be forwarded by mail or express to

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LOUISIANA AND ARKANSAS.—The House Committee on Elections has reported in favor of admitting Mr. Bonzano of New Orleans to a seat as Representative from Louisiana, and decided to report in favor of admitting Messrs. Johnson and Jacks as representatives from Arkansas.

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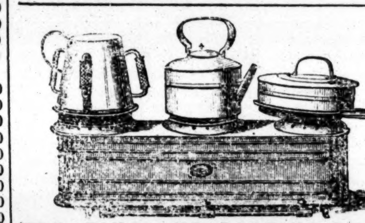
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LAUS DEO!

ON HEARING THE BELLS RING FOR THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT ABOLISHING SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

It is done!
Clang of bell and roar of gun
Send the tidings up and down.
How the belfries rock and reel,
How the great guns, peal on peal,
Fling the joy from town to town!

Ring, O bells!
Every stroke exulting tells
Of the burial-hour of crime.
Loud and long that all may hear,
Ring for every listening ear
Of Eternity and Time!

Let us kneel:
God's own voice is in that peal,
And this spot is holy ground.
Lord forgive us! What are we,
That our eyes this glory see,
That our ears have heard the sound!

For the Lord
On the whirlwind is abroad;
In the earthquake He has spoken:
He has smitten with His thunder
The iron walls asunder,
And the gates of brass are broken!

Loud and long,
Lift the old exulting song;
Sing with Miriam by the sea;
He hath cast the mighty down;
Horse and rider sink and drown;
He hath triumphed gloriously!

Did we dare
In our agony of prayer
Ask for more than He has done?
When was ever his right hand
Over any time or land
Stretched as now beneath the sun?

How they pale,
Ancient myth and song, and tale,
In this wonder of our days,
When the cruel rod of war
Blossoms white with righteous law,
And the wrath of man is praise!

Blotted out!
All within and all about
Shall a fresher life begin;
Freer breathe the universe
As it rolls its heavy curse
On the dead and buried sin!

It is done!
In the circuit of the sun
Shall the sound thereof go forth.
It shall bid the sad rejoice,
It shall give the dumb a voice,
It shall belt with joy the earth!

Roar and ring,
Bell and gun! on morning's wing
Send the tidings all abroad;
With a sound of broken chains
Tell the nations that He reigns
Who alone is Lord and God!

—*Independent.*

"OUT OF THE MOUTH OF HELL."

[We copy from the *Tribune* the concluding portion of Mr. A. D. Richardson's very interesting and exciting narrative of his experiences as a prisoner in the South, and of the circumstances of his escape. Mr. Richardson was at the time of his capture, and for years before, a correspondent of the *Tribune*, in which capacity he spent some months in the South just before the breaking out of the war. How the faithful slaves helped him "out of the mouth of Hell" will appear from what follows:]

FOR the first thirty hours after our escape from the prison at Salisbury, N. C. (which was effected Oct. 18, 1864), we had not a morsel of food or a draught of water; for the first fifty-six hours we only ate three or four ounces of tainted corn beef, and about three ounces of corn bread, to the man. We were a good deal weakened; but the hope of freedom was so strong within us that we suffered little inconvenience from it.

For the first fifty miles we found only two or three white Union people; but relied exclusively upon the negroes. Whenever we met one, male or female, of mature years, we told them, with perfect frankness: "We are Union prisoners, escaped from Salisbury, trying to reach our homes, and we want you to help us." They invariably responded promptly; sheltered us whenever they could with anything like safety, and always fed and piloted us. So far as their fidelity was concerned, we felt just as safe among them as if we had been in the *Tribune* editorial rooms.

Four-fifths of the prisoners who escaped were usually caught and brought back; so we exercised the utmost caution. We travelled only by night, starting at 9 or 10 o'clock, and seeking shelter two or three hours before daylight. Silently and like specters we marched along, with one man thrown out ahead as a picket. Whenever he fancied he saw danger he raised a warning hand, and we stopped and stepped aside, or waited till the coast was clear. The weather was very severe. We were sometimes compelled to lie all day shivering upon the frozen ground, not daring to build fires. This loss of sleep, coupled with scant food and hard walking, was a great trial to the physical system. Again and again we seemed to have reached the very last point of human endurance; but when, in our extremest need we were almost ready to despair, help always came to us.

In fifty miles we struck the mountains. From that point to our lines, 290 miles by the route we travelled, we were *constantly* among white friends. With what gladness those men and women of the mountains—who have all suffered inconceivably for their fidelity to the cause—many of whom have had their nearest and dearest relatives murdered—welcomed and sheltered; and fed and piloted us! With what overflowing love they took us to their homes and hearts; and periled their own lives to aid us! I have seen much self-sacrifice during the war; but, except in the negroes, I have witnessed no loyalty worthy to be mentioned with theirs. I approach it reverently, with uncovered head, as the holy of holies in the temple of patriotism.

When we met them they gave us a welcome warmer than that of kindred; when we parted from them I am sure many a fervent prayer went up from their humble hearths to Our Father, that He would guide us through the difficulties of our long, wearisome journey, and guard us against the perils that beset and environed it. The two mountain ranges, in mid Winter, covered with a foot of snow, were sometimes appalling to our aching joints and frost-bitten feet; but we had passed through the Slough of Despond and come up from the Valley of the Shadow of Death. To our eyes those frowning hills were the Delectable Mountains, and every friendly log-cabin was the Palace called Beautiful.

Our wardrobes suffered quite as much as our persons. I cannot speak of myself, for we did not carry looking-glasses; but "Junius" was a subject for a painter. The Fates seemed to decree, that as my colleague went naked into the Confederacy (leaving the most of his wardrobe on deposit at the bottom of the Mississippi river), he should come out of it in the same condition. Overcoat he had none. Pantaloons had been torn to shreds and tatters by the brambles and thorn bushes of the mountain paths. He had a hat which was not all a hat. It was given to him (after he had lost his own in a rebel barn), by a warm hearted African, as a small tribute from the Intelligent Contraband to his old friend the Reliable Gentleman—by an African who felt with the most touching propriety that it would be a shame for any correspondent of the *Tribune* to go bareheaded as long as a single negro in America was the owner of a hat! It was a white wool relic of the old red sandstone period, with a sugar-loaf crown, and a broad brim drawn down closely over his ears, like the bonnet of an Esquimaux. His boots were a stupendous refutation of the report that leather is scarce among the rebels. I understood it to be no figure of rhetoric, but the result of actual and exact measurement, which induced him to call them the "Seven Leaguers." The small portion of his body which was visible between the tops of his boots and the bottom of his hat was robed in an old gray quilt of secession proclivities; and taken for all in all, with his pale, nervous face and his remarkable costume, he looked like a cross between the Genius of Intellectuality and a rebel bushwhacker!

We had been for months familiar with the name of Dan Ellis, a famous guide, who has done nothing from the beginning of the war, but escort persons through to our lines. Ellis is a genius, and his life is a romance. He has taken through more than four thousand refugees, never losing but one man, and he was lost through his own indiscretion. The party had lived eight or ten days, in Winter, among the snowy mountains, upon parched corn. (Dan declares that parched corn is just as good to travel on as the most luxurious food, if a man only thinks so; but I feel bound to say that I have tried it, and don't think so.) The man in question finally revolted, and declared he would have an honest meal, if he got captured. So he went to a house, obtained the meal and did get captured. Early in the war, when our lines were at Louisville and Lexington, Kentucky, Ellis conducted party after party of refugees to those points, four and five hundred miles through the Cumberland mountains.

He is wary, vigilant and sleepless as an Indian, and knows every secluded path and every Union man through an immense range of country. Again and again we were told, far back on the journey, "If you once fall into the hands of Dan Ellis and obey his orders you are perfectly safe." We did fall into his hands 150 miles from our lines, in a peculiarly dangerous locality, and to us he was like the shadow of a great rock in a weary land. He was just starting for Knoxville with 70 Union refugees, United States soldiers returning to duty from their homes within the enemy's lines, rebel deserters and escaped prisoners. Some twenty of them were armed and forty mounted. The moment he overtook us on the road, and was told who we were, he said: "Boys, here are some prisoners escaped from Salisbury, almost worn out with the journey. Get down off your horses; we can't afford to ride and let these men walk." From this point, though some of the country was more perilous than any we had passed through, we felt comparatively safe.

The story grows on my hands; but the newspaper limits are inexorable. The terrible pace at which Dan led us, in unrelenting earnestness, over mountains, across rivers, through forests, among perils seen and unseen; the kindness of the friends we met in Tennessee; the heroism of that Union girl, who mounted a horse at midnight, and piloted us for seven miles through devious paths out of a very hot nest of rebels into which we had involuntarily stumbled, must wait for future record.

At last came our great deliverance. It was at Strawberry Plains, fifteen miles east of Knoxville. There, on the twenty-seventh morning, after a final march of seven miles, in which our heavy feet and aching limbs grew wonderfully light and agile—in silence, with full hearts and wet eyes, we saluted the Old Flag. ALBERT D. RICHARDSON.

New York, Tuesday, Feb. 7, 1865.

EDWARD EVERETT.

HIS CHARACTER AND CAREER.

[The following is the concluding portion of a sermon on the character of Edward Everett, preached before the Second Unitarian Society of Brooklyn, Sunday morning, Jan. 29th, by the Rev. JOHN W. CHADWICK, pastor.]

GOING to him with universal tests, we find that, first of all, he was a man of tireless industry. This quality in him was truly admirable. It characterized every period of his life and every field in which he labored. One who knew of him in college has told me how earnest and assiduous he was. He was persistent to acquire and very tenacious of anything which came into his possession. He was not one of those who enter upon sundry avocations only to surrender them at the beck of others seemingly more pleasant or congenial. Very deliberately he made up his mind what he would do, and then went about to do it, never faltering, never turning back. He seemed to have compartments in his mind for every sort of information. Thirty years ago he resolved to write a course of lectures upon international law. But other duties crowded this one out from quick performance. Yet the resolve was not forgotten, and the first lecture was completed a month before he died. You who have heard him speak have noticed that his illustrations ranged through almost every field. They came of reading, but still more of observation. Few men have had so strong an appetite for facts. But he ate no more than he was able to digest. Before the government sent the powder ship to Wilmington, it sent to Mr. Everett for information and got what it desired.

The organized results of this persistent industry were very beautiful. They gave him talent so commanding that it almost amounted to genius. They were the secret of his strength, but also of his limitation. They invested him with a classic elegance that made him seem more like a Greek than an American. Then, too, he was a stoic. Most Americans swear by the gods of Epicurus. But when he found a man who had the courage and ability to follow him into the splendid labyrinths of the ancient world, how wonderful their conversation must have been! He found but one such in America. And it is now four years since President Felton went to live with Socrates and Plato. To-day it must be very sweet for Mr. Everett to meet him in their presence once again. But not only did the delicacy of Mr. Everett's culture make him less American, but the multitude of his attainments cut him off from leadership. He lacked the sharpness and incision which in America precede the entrance of any man into the popular heart. Our leaders, in the main, have not been troubled by the multitude of their ideas. They have known one thing by heart. But Mr. Everett's Pegasus was no match for the lean hobbies which have carried them so bravely into places of preferment, or broken their necks so suddenly "'gainst the sharp edges of this alien world."

In the next place, it must be said of Mr. Everett that he used the fruits of all this industry in a generous and unstinted way. He was a very helpful man. All his vast stores of learning were at the service of anyone who came to make demands upon them. He was willing to spend and be spent to any amount in the service of his countrymen. No soldier on the battle-field has died for them more literally than he. And he went as suddenly as if stricken down by shot or sabre. The heroes of Fort Fisher, meeting him in heaven, must have wondered, and have asked, "What! was it you who led us in the charge?" It is very beautiful to see a man dying with his harness on in this way. But for forty years before the war began there was hardly any wheel of progress or beneficence—saving, alas! the one great wheel which moved all others—to which this worker did not put his shoulder. Sometimes it was a task for which he felt unfitted. But if men insisted he went and did his best, and that was uniformly well. In these excursions, when he went out to speak at celebrations and commencements, or in behalf of agriculture, education, or art, he proved himself to be more facile and spontaneous than even his friends habitually considered him. When Governor of Massachusetts he went to Williamstown to deliver an oration in the college there. But it was a great thing for the Berkshire farmers to have the Governor among them, and they flocked in from far and near to see and hear him. Mr. Everett did not wish to disappoint these men; but his carefully prepared oration would have been quite lost upon them. But when morning came, and the hall was packed with yeomanry, Mr. Everett, after touching briefly, in a popular way, on the heads of his oration, rambled away and talked an hour and more of local incidents connected with the history of the town, the Berkshire farmers, and their manful bearing in the French and Indian war. Everybody was pleased and satisfied. But one old gentleman, with whom the Governor stayed the night before, exclaimed: "What a fool I am. Here I sat up half the night telling the Governor what he knew a great deal better than I did myself." Dear soul! he little thought that the Governor had not known it when he came to Williamstown, and that the fine oration was the reproduction of his evening talk.

There is one example of his generosity with which everybody is familiar. Had the difference between the North and South been anything short of that between freedom and slavery, right and wrong, he might have bridged it with the memory of Washington. But the hopefulness with which he gave himself to the endeavor speaks great things for his heart. But how it must have sickened, as year by year, despite his eloquence and fervid zeal, the difference widened. He was our Quintus Curtius for the time, and threw himself—with all his wit and power—into the dreadful gulf. He will not wonder now that it did not avail, seeing how many precious things we have thrown into it since then. But it is the most precious thing of all that God demands, and when we cast in that without reserve, the edges of the gulf shall kiss each other. That thing is even-handed justice.

Still further we can say of Mr. Everett that he was a very honest man, and that is a great deal to say of anyone who, for forty years, moved in the circles of politics and diplomacy. But it has yet to be shown that he did not honestly hold to every principle that he advocated. Those principles, at times, were the furthest possible from absolute truth and right, but for Mr. Everett to entertain them was error rather than sin. I am speaking now of the outward and concrete phases of his life. I mean to say that he did not vote one way when he knew that he ought to vote another; that he did not work for the pecuniary advantage of himself or his friends; that he was given to none of those base practices which turn the temple of our liberties into a den of thieves. That from the beginning of his political career till the beginning of the rebellion he was always in the van of slavery's compromisers and abettors, indicates a terrible deficiency in his moral life. But it was remote and hidden, and never manifested itself in acts of conscious violence and wrong. To some extent, it was the limitation of his nature; besides, it was the fruit of early dereliction. In the Eden of his youth, when the Almighty came and asked him where he was, he ran and hid himself. He dared not face the problems on which the issues of the nation's life and death depended. To have faced them would have been to answer them aright. But instead, he cast himself upon the tide of precedent, and it drifted him whichever way it would. Thus, not deliberately, but accidentally, he chose the downward path. But that, when once he had chosen it, he walked it conscientiously, speaks better things for him than would the better acts, from baser motives, for which so many get rewards and praises never fairly earned.

But still more admirable the fact of Mr. Everett's constant purity! You remember the story of the man who felt but three times in his life that God had forsaken him, and one of those was when he was in Washington under Buchanan's Administration. Perhaps there was a little more corruption in the Capital at that time than ever after or before. But its social and Congressional morality has been for twenty years a stench in the nostrils of every decent man. Not even the rivers of patience and heroism and tribulation, whose waves and billows have flooded its Augean stables since the war began, have been equal to the task of cleaning them. But none of their filth ever stuck to this man's garments. Others might give themselves to baseness, but not he. The general public criticizes every Christian minister who does not put its own morality to shame. And Mr. Everett was a Christian minister in his youth. Had he remained in this position till his death, his habits need not have been more decorous and pure. The public would have had no chance to condemn him for not being better than itself.

Added to these fine qualities, Mr. Everett carried in his breast a very democratic sentiment. He never was one of those who accept republican institutions as a necessary evil, and put up with them as best they can. He thoroughly and heartily believed in them. Though none of those whose delicate sensibility was always being shocked by democratic crudities of life and speech compared with him in delicacy of culture, these same things never troubled him. He knew that they would pass away in time, and that in their places the arts would flourish and the graces spring. And even while they lasted he knew that they were better than the crusted forms of European life, the resulting curses of social interference and protection. Condemned as an aristocrat, his real sympathies were with the people of America. He liked to talk with them. He liked to write for them. And when an opportunity was offered to get the ear of twenty thousand every week, he joyfully accepted it in spite of much remonstrance. The disposition of his mind to such a course is one of the most charming recollections of his life.

Of the evenness and gentleness of this man's temper, as it was displayed in the more secret phases of his life, every hint that comes to us is beautiful and touching in its suggestions of what he must have been in the relations of husband, parent, and friend. But it is hardly meet for us, who did not know him in any of these relations to speak of them to-day.

And now does it not seem that one so earnest and industrious, so helpful and kind, so honest and pure-minded, so democratic in his feeling, and so patient, calm, and excellent in every private sorrow and experience, might have been a representative American? And yet he was not. It seems very hard to say this of one who fell so bravely fighting in the cause of freedom and humanity. It seems almost cruel to rebuke in any way the fullness and completeness of the public grief—its voice of praise and lamentation. But this need not be done. We may not check our sorrow, but it were well to temper it with wisdom. Why mourn the loss of that which Mr. Everett was not? And he certainly was not a representative man.

He lacked the courage and the enterprise that might have made him so. He had no faith—no insight. He was a minstrel of the dead past's beauty; he was no prophet of the grander future that is yet to be. The crisis which to-day is culminating in the victory of Freedom over the oppressor, whose gifts are the free States of Maryland, Missouri, Louisiana, Tennessee, and fifty thousand black men fighting in the army of redemption as regular soldiers of the United States—this crisis shaped the life of Mr. Everett, at length, into something great and beautiful. But who were they that shaped the crisis into the glorious engine of God's love and pity to the down-trodden and the slave? Was Mr. Everett one of them? Alas! he never was. Every whit and fragment of his influence for forty years went just the other way. The men whom, under God, we thank for this great revolution, Mr. Everett hated and despised. He persecuted them, he imprisoned them, he thought that he could strangle Abolitionism in the womb. What did he think of Garrison and Phillips? What of Channing and Parker? What of John Brown? He thought them mad and blasphemous. And even while he thought them so, God came and laid the gift of free America at their humble feet. I know of nothing in all history so grand as this. And that this man of grace and dignity, this man of eloquence and scholarship, this man of past and precedent, should come like any little child and beg these very men to teach him! When I think how the young man-child of freedom was rejected and despised, and how this great orator himself flouted and jeered at him, that he should have grown to be as strong as any Sampson, and to rend this lion which threatened to devour us as if he were a kid—it seems not a reality, but a splendid dream. And only yesterday this man-child, fully grown, raised up this orator and statesman in his sinewy arms and bade the nation worship him. What peerless magnanimity! And now that he is gone, this same much-loving and naught-fearing child of God weeps that it cannot, though it would, remember only that his last years were given to the cause so long misunderstood, so manfully defended at the close.

But the generosity with which the people of the North respond to everything that was beautiful and noble in this man, refusing to number even the least of his transgressions, is no indication of the estimate which the historian and moralist will place upon him. For the touchstone by which they are bound to try the character of every man connected with these times is the question whether he was faithful to Freedom when Freedom's need of faithfulness was most alarming; when, but for those who made a living wall about her, she would have perished utterly in the midst of us. Edward Everett does not stand this test, for he did not come to know that Liberty and Union were one and inseparable until the nation's crisis had already passed and her slow recovery began.

He was not then, with all his splendor of attainment, a man to whom the young men of America can be pointed as a perfect guide. Something might be said, no doubt, in palliation of his sad mistake. He was, by nature, exceedingly conservative in temper. Conservative men and influences surrounded him. But the great man is superior to his surroundings. Others have come from God no less conservative, and their surroundings have not been different. But how fair and perfect has their record been. And Mr. Everett's might have been as fair if he had dared, when youth was still his portion, to ask himself the questions that, in the main, must then be answered, if at all. But it takes courage to do this, and that he did not have in quantity sufficient for his need.

But if it is hard to ask these questions of oneself in youth, questions going down to the very roots of the civilization into which we come, and harder still to answer them, what must it be to ask and answer them when the allotted three-score years and ten have well nigh passed already? This Mr. Everett did. Or rather the great time spoke to him out of its heart, and he answered with all the frankness and impetuosity of a young man, "Let slavery perish in the name of God."

Oh, it was brave and true and wonderful! For it must have been very hard to turn his back upon the men who fondled and caressed him, to grind his own proud record underneath his heel—to say that he had been mistaken forty years, to follow in the steps of those whom he had scorned, and look up to them as if they stood upon a dizzy height to which, God helping him, he meant to climb. And yet, with one grand impulse of humanity, he did it all. And he will not repent of it till every mother in the universe forgets her child; till Luther, Huss and Latimer recant; till Christ repents his martyrdom.—*Brooklyn Daily Union.*

THE NEGRO IN THE SUPREME COURT.

OH, augustly simple funeral cortege—oh, dead, wrapped in the cerements that the divine hand of revolution folds its victims with, augustly exciting in your stormy birth, transcendently mischievous in your little life—Senator Charles Sumner and negro lawyer John S. Rock, the pall bearers—the room of the Supreme Court of the United States the Potter's field—the corpse the Dred Scott decision!

Through the door that was too narrow to freely let out the bearers that bore Charles Sumner's inanimate form from the Senate chamber, where he had been stricken down by the assassins of the Slave Power, Charles Sumner to-day marched back, leading a negro by the hand, and standing upon the very spot that had been stained with his blood for demanding freedom and equality for the blacks in America, demanded of the Supreme Court of the United States to enroll among its members an African lawyer, and to license him to practice at its bar.

The black man was admitted. Jet black, with hair of an extra twist—let me have the pleasure of saying, by purpose and with premeditation, of an aggravating "kink"—unqualifiedly, obtrusively, defiantly "nigger"—with no palliation of complexion, no let down in lip, no compromise in nose, no abatement whatever in any facial, cranial, osteological particular, from the despised standard of humanity brutally set up in our politics and in our judiciary by the Dred Scott decision, this inky-hued African stood in the monarchical power of recognized American manhood and American citizenship, within the bar of the court which had solemnly pronounced that black men had no rights which white men were bound to respect, stood there a recognized member of it, professionally the brother of the distinguished counsellors on its long rolls, in rights their equal, in the standing which rank gives their peer. By Jupiter! the sight was grand.

'Twas dramatic too. At three minutes before 11 o'clock in the morning, Charles Sumner entered the court-room, followed by the negro applicant for admission, and sat down within the bar. At 11 the procession of gowned judges entered the room with Chief-Justice Chase at their head. The spectators and the lawyers in attendance rose respectfully on their coming. The associate justices seated themselves nearly at once, as is their courteous custom of waiting upon each other's movements. The Chief-Justice, standing to the last, bowed with affable dignity to the Bar, and took his central seat with a great presence. Immediately the Senator from Massachusetts arose, and in a composed manner and quiet tone said: "May it please the Court, I move that John S. Rock, a member of the Supreme Court of the State of Massachusetts, be admitted to practice as a member of this Court."

The grave to bury the Dred Scott decision was in that one sentence dug, and it yawned there, wide open, under the very eyes of some of the judges who had participated in the juridical crime against Democracy and humanity. The assenting nod of the great head of the Chief-Justice tumbled in the corse and filled up the pit, and the black counsellor of the Supreme Court got on to it and stamped it down, and smoothed the earth to his walk to the rolls of the court.

Boutwell, of Massachusetts, was by, drinking in the spectacle with his blazing eyes, and Wilson, of Iowa, stood at his side measuring the big fact and welcoming it. A New York Representative, who yesterday voted against the Constitutional Amendment to abolish slavery, carried his abdomen with obtrusive vanity about the bar, and giggled at a spectacle which he had not the sense to appreciate nor the heart to feel. A few lawyers of the old regime looked on, stunned somewhat, but rapidly growing in wisdom and mixing deference to destiny with their instinctive reluctance to this revolutionary intrusion. These, and three journalists and two sight-seers, straggled in from their weary aversion to the tawdry ornamentation of the new Capitol wing, and Middleton, the Clerk of the Court, especially appointed by Taney's urgency and vote, these were all the spectators of the noteworthy scene.—*Washington Correspondence of New York Tribune.*

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

SLAVERY DOOMED!

JANUARY 31, 1865.

HUZZA! Huzza! for the triumph of Right;
Exultingly cheer for the glorious hour
Which witnessed the birth of the New Era's light,
And full consummation of Liberty's power!

Our country is free! ring it out on the breeze!
The curse is removed! shout in Union grand,
And celebrate, freemen! in anthems and glees
The advent of equity throughout the whole land.

The Nation has spoken, and Heaven the decree
Applauds with a joy the glad time shall unfold,
When never again will America see
The horrible sight of her sons bought and sold!

Our noble Republic! the power that rives
The shackles of slavery—they never shall rust;
The shamble, the whipping-post and barbarous gyves,
Go down to oblivion and lie in the dust!

No more shall the husband be torn from his wife;
No more shall the little ones be sold from their arms;
Thank God! they have passed from death unto life,
And the Compact of Justice dispels their alarms.

Then swell the reëchoing, jubilant huzza!
Let trumpet and joy-bell glad tidings proclaim;
From thousands of cannon speed near and afar
The thunders of victory in Freedom's fair name!

Fling out to the breeze from steeple and staff
Our beautiful banner of destiny high,
And make the hills sing and the valleys to laugh
With joy irrepressible for sweet liberty.

The gloom of the night is succeeded by day;
The day of the free ends the night of the slave,
And now, bless'd Columbia, in truth can we say,
Is the land of the free and home of the brave!

EDWARD P. NOWELL.

Advertisements.

DR. TALBOT'S CONCENTRATED MEDICAL

PINEAPPLE CIDER

IS A PREVENTIVE OF SICKNESS.

The experience that Dr. Talbot has had for the last twenty-five years, convinces him that it is time the public had an article offered that will prevent sickness. The article offered is Dr. Talbot's Medicated Pineapple Cider, designed for all classes,

OLD AND YOUNG.

It is not new to the Doctor, but it is entirely new to the public. One quart bottle will last a well person a year. This is rather a new mode of doctoring; nevertheless it will

SAVE MILLIONS

from being sick. Is it not better to pay three dollars a year to keep from being sick, than to pay ten or twenty dollars in doctor's bills, and as much more for the loss of time, and inconvenience of being sick?

To prevent sickness, use as follows:

Add one teaspoonful of Medicated Pineapple Cider to a tumbler of cold water, and drink the first thing after you rise in the morning, and the same before you retire at night.

It will increase the strength, and give

VIGOR AND ACTION

to the system.

A celebrated New York Merchant, who has made a thorough trial of the Pineapple Cider, assures Dr. Talbot that he has gained ten Pounds of flesh in one month at the first trial. He continues its use as above directed, and finds it very beneficial; says it proved an entire

PREVENTIVE TO SICKNESS

in his case. Also, another well-known gentleman in New York has used the Medicated Cider constantly for ten years, and has not been sick one day during that time.

THIS WONDERFUL PREPARATION

will increase the strength, give vigor and action to the system, and regulate digestion. When taken internally, for pains of all kinds—Bilious Colic, Diarrhœa, Diseases of the Throat, Pains in the Chest, Hoarseness, Coughs, Neuralgia, Rheumatic Pains, Dyspepsia, Acidity of the Stomach, etc., etc.—its soothing and quieting effect on the system is most astonishing.

Dr. Wilcox, an eminent physician, employed it with great success in treating Fevers, Dyspepsia, Nervous Affections, Loss of Appetite, Weakness, Palpitation of the Heart, Chronic Diarrhœa, Colic Dysentery, and Diseases of the Stomach and Bowels. It is also particularly recommended by physicians to delicate females, and as an excellent remedy for Enfeebled Digestion, Want of Appetite, Scrofula, Nephritic Affections, Rheumatism, etc., etc. It never fails to relieve Nervous Tremor, Wakefulness, Disturbed Sleep, etc. American Ladies have used this article with great success to heighten their color and beauty.

It imparts cheerfulness to the disposition, and brilliancy to the complexion.

To Travellers, especially, it is of inestimable value, and should be provided as a medicine for every journey in which the water is likely to vary in quality and tendency.

Persons residing in any part of the country may adopt it with the utmost confidence as a timely, efficacious restorative.

PRICES:

THREE DOLLARS PER BOTTLE (FULL QUART).
TWO DOLLARS " (FULL PINT).
ONE DOLLAR " (FULL HALF-PINT).

1 Quart bottle, 2 Pint bottles, or 4 Half-pint bottles sent free by express on receipt of price. FOR SALE EVERYWHERE.

B. T. BABBITT, Sole Agent, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 72 and 74 Washington st., N. Y. 29–6mo.

THE TRIBUNE FOR 1865

PROSPECTUS

The Military and Naval successes of 1864, with the auspicious result of our Presidential contest, have lifted a heavy weight from the breast of the Loyal Millions of our countrymen. It is now felt even by those who have been distrustful and faint-hearted, that the Union is to emerge triumphant from the deadly strife whereinto she was so wickedly precipitated by her assailants, and that Slavery, her relentless foe, is to encounter the fate of Haman. The perils of foreign intervention and of Western insurrection are safely passed; ABRAHAM LINCOLN, no longer assailable as the choice of a minority, holds the helm of State for four years longer; the Rebellion, palpably weakened by its defeats and losses during the year now closing—with its credit so reduced that its purse-bearer officially declares that its Treasury Notes can be exchanged for coin at the rate of Twenty five only for one while its bonds command but six cents on one dollar—but awaits the blow which shall soon strike the sword from its parricidal hand and remit its master spirits to the justice or it may be to the clemency, of a sorely wronged and justly incensed but forbearing and magnanimous People. Such are the auspices which justify our faith that the year soon to open will see the Stars and Stripes float unchallenged from every battlement in the Republic. And the perfect law of Liberty for All immovably imbedded in the Constitution of our Union.

THE NEW-YORK TRIBUNE, founded in 1841, will enter upon its twenty-fourth year with quickened hopes and enlarged means of usefulness. Its principles need no restatement, its aims are the diffusion of Intelligence and the inculcation of a spirit of Freedom and Humanity. When this truth shall have been generally recognized and established as the basis of our institutions and polity, that injustice to the poorest, the weakest, the most despised, is a fearful mistake—that no community or State can afford to wrong even its humblest member—then will our land bask once more in the calm sunshine of peace and prosperity.

THE TRIBUNE has for the last year been published with but small profit to its proprietors, when compared with the enormous labor and outlay devoted to its publication, solely because of the depreciation of our currency below the specie standard, compelling us to buy paper and other materials at a cost considerably above the full amount received from our subscribers. On our weekly edition, the net loss has amounted to many thousands of dollars; while our large receipts from Advertising have been absorbed by the extraordinary expenses for Correspondence, Telegraphing, &c., devolved on us by the War. As we do not suppose our Patrons desire that we should work for them at our own cost, and prefer not to be patronized by any who may desire it, we have somewhat advanced for the ensuing year the prices of our Semi-Weekly and Weekly, as we have already done with those of our daily edition. This increase is purely nominal; there never before was a time when the farmers of our country could buy THE TRIBUNE for so little of their own products or labor as they can by the following

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Daily, single copy — 4 cents.
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do 2 copies, do do — 7 00
do 5 copies, or over, for each copy, — 3 00

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THE TRIBUNE, New York.

BUFFALO ROBES direct from the Indian country 5,000 robes for sale, wholesale or retail, at very low prices. Also Horse Blankets cheap and good. THOS. W. MATTSON, 402 Market st., 1st door above 4th St.

GROVESTEEN & CO.,

PIANO-FORTE MANUFACTURERS,

499 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

The attention of the public and the trade is invited to our New Scale Seven Octave Rosewood Piano-Fortes, which for volume and purity of tone are unrivalled by any hitherto offered in this market. They contain all the modern improvements, French, grand action, harp pedal, iron frame, over-strung bass, etc., and each instrument being made under the personal supervision of Mr. J. H. Grovesteen, who has had a practical experience of over thirty years in their manufacture, is fully warranted in every particular.

THE "GROVESTEEN PIANO-FORTE"

received the highest award of merit over all others at the celebrated World's Fair! where were exhibited instruments from the best makers of London, Paris, Germany, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston and New York; and also at the American Institute for five successive years, the gold and silver medals from both of which can be seen at our warerooms.

By the introduction of improvements we make a still more perfect Piano-Forte, and by manufacturing largely, with a strict cash system, are enabled to offer these instruments at a price which will preclude all competition.

PRICES.

No. 1, Seven Octave, round corners, Rosewood Plain Case, $275.

No. 2, Seven Octave, round corners, Rosewood heavy moulding, $300.

No. 3, Seven Octave, round corners, Rosewood Louis XIV. style, $325.

TERMS—Net Cash, in Current Funds.

Descriptive Circulars sent free.

WEST'S IMPROVED PUMP

Anti-Freezing, Double-Acting, Forcing and Lifting.

These Pumps have now been in general use a number of years, and give better satisfaction than any other, and are recommended as THE BEST! by Captain Ericsson, and other eminent engineers. We can refer to thousands using them, and guarantee that all will recommend them. They are more simple in construction, and work easier, and cost less than all others.

"Our readers will find the double-acting, improved Pump of J. D. West & Co., one of the best in the market. It is very simple, works to a charm, so that any child may use it; throws a steady, continuous stream, and does not freeze in the coldest exposures, and is unusually cheap. We say this knowingly, and give the testimony of our own accord, without the knowledge or request of the proprietors."—*N. Y. Evening Post, July 1, 1863*

"J. D. WEST & Co. We are pleased to state that the Pumps we had of you, about a year ago, have been in constant use, 12 hours each day, and raise for the use of our woolen factory about 180 gallons per minute. They work with but little power, compared with pumps we have used before, and do not get out of repair, and are satisfactory in all respects. DUNLAP MANUFACTURING CO."

Solon Robinson to the Farmers' Club, Jan. 28:

"No farmer who owns a well or a cistern can possibly afford to be without an iron pump. It should be at once a suction and force pump—a perfect little fire-engine—such a one known as 'West's Improved Pump.' I speak of this Pump, because I happen to know it . . . . to be very simple, durable, powerful, and cheap, and it don't freeze up, nor get out of order once a year . . . . I know this, and think I may be doing the farmers good by speaking of it . . . . A boy 10 years old can work it, and throw a continuous inch-and-a-quarter stream. . . . It can be made to work in deep wells as well as in shallow ones."

"GREAT NECK, L. I., 1860.

"I have used this Pump for one Summer and Winter, exposed to the northwest wind coming over Long Island Sound, being the coldest possible exposure, and at no time did it freeze, nor were we unable at any time to pump water with great ease.

"H. B. MCILVAIN."

"The undersigned, having to use 'West's Improved Pumps,' cheerfully recommend them as simple, durable, and powerful in raising and throwing water, and for their ease of action, security against frost, and low price, we believe them superior to all others.

"WARREN LELAND, Met. Hotel, N. Y.
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From the New York Observer.

"We have had in use for months past one of West's Pumps, which has given us more satisfaction, as a force and lifting pump, than any we have ever used. It is one of great power, and well adapted for ship's decks, mines, factories, greenhouses, graperies, etc. The *Mining Chronicle and Railway Journal* says, 'It is recommended for its extreme simplicity of construction, great strength, and consequent durability and cheapness of repair. There is no stuffing-box—the pressure being held by a cup packing, like that upon the working-piston, working in a cylinder, fitted for the purpose within the upper air chamber—which we think a great improvement, as stuffing is so liable to be deranged and leak under strong pressure, to say nothing of the loss by friction incident thereto. It has also two air-chambers; thus the action of the valve is cushioned upon both sides by air—preventing water-hammer and vacuum-thump. The valves are very accessible, and simply and cheaply repaired. They work much easier than any pump we have ever seen; the 4 inch cylinder being worked by children in wells 100 feet deep, and as they are extremely cheap, as well as simple and strong, we freely recommend them.'"

"CAMBRIDGE MINE, N. C., June 15, 1863.

"J. D. WEST & CO.—Gents. The pump which I ordered for our mine is received, and put to work in our underlay shaft, which we are sinking. We find that one man will, with ease, lift 60 gallons per minute. We lifted in three and a half hours all the water in the shaft, which measures seven by twelve feet and thirty feet deep, and it was full when we commenced. It answers our expectations in every respect, and our workmen are highly pleased with it. It will do great service with but trifling expense for repairs.

"Yours, respectfully, BURR HIGGINS."

"This may certify that I have been using, at my manufactory, for the last four years, 'West's Improved Pumps.' I now have in use three of said pumps, one of which is kept constantly at work, 24 hours of each day (save Sundays), and has been running for the past two years. I pronounce them, unhesitatingly, the best pumps that have been brought to my notice, having used many others previously. They are simple in their construction, and not easily disarranged. JAS. A. WEBB.

"N. Y., October 10, 1859."

We have plenty more such certificates, but think these are enough. For Pumps, Hose, Pipe, etc., address or call upon

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Orders may be sent through the AMERICAN ADVERTISING AGENCY, 389 Broadway.

PUTNAM'S CLOTHES WRINGER



IT IS THE ONLY RELIABLE

SELF-ADJUSTING WRINGER.

No Wood work to swell or split. No Thumb-screws to get out of order. Warranted with or without Cog-wheels.

It took the First Premium at Fifty-seven State and County Fairs in 1863, and nearly double that number in 1864, and is, without an exception, the *best* Wringer ever made. Patented in the United States, England, Canada, and Australia. Agents wanted in every town, and in all parts of the world. Energetic agents can make from $3 to $10 per day.

WHAT EVERYBODY KNOWS, VIZ.:

That Iron well galvanized *will not rust.*
That a *simple* machine is better than a complicated one.
That a Wringer should be *self-adjusting, durable and efficient.*
That thumb screws and fastenings cause *delay* and *trouble* to regulate and keep in order.
That wood soaked in water will *swell, shrink,* and *split.*
That wood-bearings for the shaft to run in *will wear out.*
That the Putnam Wringer, with or without cog-wheels, will *not tear the clothes.*
That cog wheel regulators are not essential.
That the Putnam Wringer has *all* the advantages, and *not one* of the disadvantages above named.
That all who have tried it pronounce it the *best* Wringer ever made.
That it will ring a thread or a bed-quilt *without alteration.*

We might fill the paper with testimonials, but insert only a few to convince the skeptical, if such there be; and we say to all, *test* Putnam's Wringer. Test it *thoroughly* with *any* and *all* others, and if not entirely satisfactory, return it.

PUTNAM MANUFACTURING CO.—Gentlemen: I know from practical experience that iron well galvanized with zinc will not oxydize or rust one particle. The Putnam Wringer is as near perfect as possible, and I can cheerfully recommend it to be the best in use.

Respectfully yours, JOHN W. WHEELER, Cleveland, O.

Many years experience in the galvanizing business enables me to indorse the above statement in *all particulars.*

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NEW YORK, January, 1864.—We have tested Putnam's Clothes Wringer by practical working, and know that it will do. It is cheap; it is simple; it requires no room, whether at work or at rest; a child can operate it; it does its duty thoroughly; it saves time, and it saves wear and tear. We earnestly advise all who have much washing to do, with all intelligent persons who have *any*, to buy this Wringer. It will pay for itself in a year at most.

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Sample Wringers sent, express paid, on receipt of price.
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WILLCOX & GIBBS SEWING MACHINE.

It is entirely noiseless.
A patented device prevents its being turned backward.
The needle cannot be set wrong.
The Hemmer, Feller, and Braider are acknowledged to be superior to all others.
It received the Gold Medal of the American Institute in 1863.
It also received the first premium for "THE BEST SEWING MACHINE," at the great "NEW ENGLAND FAIR," the "Vermont State Fair," the "Pennsylvania State Fair," and the "Indiana State Fair," 1864.
Send for a circular containing full information, notices from the press, testimonials from those using the machine, etc.

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With corrupt, disordered or vitiated Blood, you are sick all over. It may burst out in Pimples, or Sores, or in some active disease, or it may merely keep you listless, depressed and good for nothing. But you cannot have good health while your blood is impure. AYER'S SARSAPARILLA purges out these impurities and stimulates the organs of life into vigorous action, restoring the health and expelling disease. Hence it rapidly cures a variety of complaints which are caused by impurity of the blood, such as *Scrofula*, or *King's Evil*, *Tumors*, *Ulcers*, *Sores*, *Eruptions*, *Pimples*, *Blotches*, *Boils*, *St Anthony's Fire*, *Rose* or *Erysipelas*, *Tetter* or *Salt Rheum*, *Scald Head*, *Ring Worm*, *Cancer* or *Cancerous Tumors*, *Sore Eyes*, *Female Diseases*, such as *Retention*, *Irregularity*, *Suppression*, *Whites*, *Sterility*, also *Syphilis* or *Venereal Diseases*, *Liver Complaints*, and *Heart Diseases*. Try AYER'S SARSAPARILLA, and see for yourself the surprising activity with which it cleanses the blood and cures these disorders.

During late years the public have been misled by large bottles, pretending to give a quart of extract of Sarsaparilla for one dollar. Most of these have been frauds upon the sick, for they not only contain little, if any, Sarsaparilla, but often no curative properties whatever. Hence, bitter disappointment has followed the use of the various extracts of Sarsaparilla which flood the market, until the name itself has become synonymous with imposition and cheat. Still we call this compound "Sarsaparilla," and intend to supply such a remedy as shall rescue the name from the load of obloquy which rests upon it. We think we have ground for believing it has virtues which are irresistible by the ordinary run of the diseases it is intended to cure. We can only assure the sick, that we offer them the best alterative which we know how to produce, and we have reason to believe, it is by far the most effectual purifier of the blood yet discovered by anybody.

AYER'S CHERRY PECTORAL is so universally known to surpass every other remedy for the cure of *Coughs*, *Colds*, *Influenza*, *Hoarseness*, *Croup*, *Bronchitis*, *Incipient Consumption*, and for the relief of Consumptive Patients in advanced stages of the disease, that it is useless here to recount the evidence of its virtues. The world knows them.

Prepared by J. C. AYER & Co., Lowell, Mass., and sold by all Druggists and Dealers in medicines everywhere. 39–2mo.

FINKLE AND LYON'S NEW PATENT ROTARY FEED SEWING MACHINES.—The following facts demonstrate that these Machines comprise the highest improvements in the Sewing Machine Art, viz:

1. Each Machine is guaranteed to give better satisfaction than any other Sewing Machine in market, or money refunded.
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6. They require no taking apart to clean or oil, and no "Lessons" to set needle, regulate tension, or operate machine.

Please call and examine and demonstrate for yourself, or send for circular with samples of sewing.

N. B.—Town and Country Agents wanted.

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THE NONPAREIL WASHING MACHINE.—This is the only machine in existence which combines all the requisites of a perfect Washer.

It is a Squeezing Machine, strongly made, simple in its operation, and constructed solely with a view to utility.

During the four years the Nonpareil has been in use, it has steadily gained in public favor, and has demonstrated that

Two-thirds the labor and time required in hand-washing and all the wear and tear of the garments are saved by its use.

In its new and improved condition it can be operated effectively by a girl of fifteen, and may be relied on to cleanse clothing thoroughly without assistance from hand-rubbing.

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40–10t 184 Water street New York.

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No. 63 Columbia street, Brooklyn Heights, N. Y.

The undersigned has the pleasure of informing the public that he is now prepared to extend the luxuries to those in health, as well as the remedial benefits of the

TURKISH BATH,

to patients afflicted with those forms of Chronic Disease for which this Bath is so justly celebrated.

The favor with which the Turkish Bath has been received by the profession and the public throughout Europe, and especially in Great Britain, leads him to anticipate a similar success from its introduction into this country.

CHAS. H. SHEPARD, M.D.

Hours for Ladies - - - - - - - - - - From 9 to 12 a.m.
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Vote of 1860 elaborately analyzed and compared, by Population, Free and Slave, with percentage, &c.

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A CONSUMPTIVE CURED.

DR. H. JAMES, a retired physician of great eminence, discovered, while in the East Indies, a certain cure for Consumption, Asthma, Bronchitis, Coughs, Colds and General Debility. The remedy was discovered by him when his only child, a daughter, was given up to die. His child was cured, and is now alive and well. Desirous of benefiting his fellow-mortals, he will send to those who wish it the recipe, containing full directions for making and successfully using this remedy, free, on receipt of their names, with two stamps to pay expenses. There is not a single symptom of Consumption that it does not at once take hold of and dissipate. Night sweats, peevishness, irritation of the nerves, failure of memory, difficult expectoration, sharp pains in the lungs, sore throat, chilly sensations, nausea at the stomach, inaction of the bowels, wasting away of the muscles.

☞ The writer will please state the name of the paper they see this advertisement in. Address

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